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ABSTRACT

This collection of essays examines the issues which affect the educational, social, and economic status of Asian Americans and Pacific Americans. The first paper by Florence Yoshiwara discusses the historical experiences and demographic characteristics of Japanese Americans, economic and educational stereotypes, and various multicultural and area studies programs. A concluding section suggests the need for bilingual/bicultural programs and discusses Asian American studies programs at the secondary and university levels. The second paper by Kenyon Chan presents on overview of the educational progress of Chinese Americans, focusing on demographic, cultural and learning characteristics. In the third paper by Bok-Lim Kim, the future of Korean American children and youth is discussed in terms of marginality, biculturality and the role of the American public school. Educational needs and attitude assessment of parents and teachers are examined. Federico Macaranas' paper examines the socioeconomic issues affecting Filipino Americans. Appendices include information on number of persons of Filipino origin in the United States by place of birth and language characteristics, social indicators of equity in education for Asian Americans, and an outline of educational needs and recommendations. The remaining papers by Vuong G. Thuy and Bella Zi Bell discuss the current status and educational needs of Indochinese and Hawaiians respectively. Each paper includes a bibliography. (JCD)

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THE EDUCATION OF ASIAN-AMERICAN AND PACIFIC-AMERICAN CHILDREN AND YOUTH

ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education
Institute for Urban and Minority Education
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, N.Y. 10027

Urban Diversity Series, Number 76
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SHATTERING MYTHS: JAPANESE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

by
Florence M. Yoshiwara
Japanese American Curriculum Project
San Mateo, California

I. INTRODUCTION

The historical experiences of Japanese Americans are similar, and yet different from other Asian American groups. Like other Asians, their history is marked by severe social, economic and political racism. Their uniqueness, though, stems from their tragic and dramatic internment in concentration camps during World War II. 120,000 person of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds of whom wereUnited States citizens by birth, were interned without due process of law.

However, twenty years after this trauma, Japanese Americans began to be depicted as "the successful minority." Success was defined as being acculturated, assimilated and financially successful. They were proclaimed as having higher levels of educational attainment and median family income than other indentifiable groups. This view served to disguise a number of major social and economic problems which continued to face the group.

In 1970, Japanese Americans were the largest American group numbering 591,290. Over the past ten years, however, their growth has been considerably less than other Asian groups becasue of the lower rate of immigration from the comparatively economically and politically stable Japan. The 1980 Census ranks Japanese Americans as third in population behind Chinese and Filipino Americans.

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This brief discussion will provide a historical overview of the Japanese Americans, as well as a demographic profile. It will also critique the myth of "the successful minority" and analyze major educational issues. The conclusion forecasts immediate and future needs of Japanese Americans in education.

II. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The History of the Japanese in America has always been directly related to the changing relationships between the United States and Japan. These relations have had serious implications on the social, economic and political treatment of Japanese Americans.

From the early 1800's the United States sought to penetrate long isolated Japan. In 1853, after two unsuccessful attempts, Commodore Matthew C. Perry forced his way into Japan.[1] An ensuing revolution fourteen years later toppled the Tokugawa Shogunate, and re-established emperor rule under Emperor Meiji.[2] Meiji then dedicated Japan to speedy industrialization and militarization[3] to meet the challenge of joining the world family of nations.

Until 1885, Japan had not allowed its people to emigrate freely. Although isolated groups had come to California and Hawaii as early as 1867 as laborers and students, it was not until an agreement to insure equal treatment was signed that Japanese were allowed to emigrate to the United States.[4] Japan was aware of the unequal treatment imposed on Asians both in Asia and in the United States.

The Japanese emigrated to the United States to seek greater opportunities. Industrialization and militarization led to high taxes, military conscription and political turmoil, which many young men sought to escape.[5] In the United States they worked at the lowest paying jobs in agriculture, the railroad, as domestics in homes, in gardens, small service businesses and industry.

By July 1894, Japan embarked upon its first foreing war against China over the domination of Korea.[6] Again in 1905, Japan battled Russia over Port Arthur on the China mainland.[7] Japan won both wars, and the world took notice of the first victory of a non-white over a white nation. These events had direct impact upon the Japanese Americans. First, President Theodore Roosevelt became involved as the mediator between Japan and Russia, mainly to preserve a balance of power in that part of the world.[8] Second, when San Francisco attempted to segregate Japanese students along with Chinese students in 1906, both Japanese officials and Roosevelt became embroiled in the settlement.[9]

Japanese parents were insulted at this attempt to segregate their children. When they were ineffective in bringing about a settlement locally, they went to Washington to protest directly to the Japanese Ambassador. To Roosevelt, who was eyeing increased trade with Japan, it was an embarassment. He pressured to resolve the issue, and at the same time sought to restrict immigration of Japanese labor. Initiated by Japan, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908 served to settle the disagreement.[10]

Following the exclusion of the Chinese in 1882, it continued to be popular for politicians, labor unions and the press to blame every social and economic ill on the Japanese. As they sought to elevate their economic status through land ownership and business ownership, anti-Japanese racism increased and led to added segregation in schools, housing and employment.[11] Worst of all, the alien Japanese were deemed "ineligible for citizenship" by law (Ozawa vs. United States),[12] and through this ruling racist legislators passed laws which prohibited land ownership. When this did not deter the Japanese, they also prohibited the leasing of land.[13]

Without citizenship the Japanese were helpless to combat the events which were designed to dehumanize and keep them in the cheap labor market. In 1924 the federal government passed an immigration law (Immigration Exclusion Act) which excluded the Japanese from entering the United States.[14] So in thirty-nine years after they were enticed and encouraged to come, the Japanese were declared undesirable and excluded from further immigration.

From the beginning, the Japanese established families and organized communities. The American born children, the Nisei, became the hope of the Issei, the foreign born Japanese. For the Nisei and their parents, education was seen as the best means of "earning acceptibility" and financial success. Issei parents made great sacrifices to provide education and college degrees for their Nisei children.[15] But even a degree with honors failed to impress employers. During the 1930's, Nisei graduates could only find work as grocery clerks, family fruit stand operators, gardeners or domestics.[16] Their plight was no improvement over the racist treatment which plagued their foreign born parents.[17]

As the Nisei matured they began to organize around their common concerns of discrimination. This resulted in the founding of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) in 1928. Although it had a small membership before the war, the JACL now has approximately 30,000 members.[18]

All Japanese Americans who were alive on December 7, 1941 can recall with horror the day when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, and war broke out. Everyone feared going to war, but for the Japanese Americans because of their past history, war with Japan had an even more ominous prospect.[19] The Issei who were never allowed to become citizens were now classified as enemy aliens. During the first few days after Pearl Harbor, many Issei community leaders were jailed and removed, leaving unprotected and anxious families.[20]

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 whichauthorized the removal of all persons of Japanese ancestry, aliens and citizens alike, from the West Coast.[21] By May 1942, 120,000 persons were in concentration camps away from the West Coast. Two-thirds of those interned were American citizens; interned without due process of law.

Japanese Americans brought case after case to court to challenge the wartime removal and internment. Through this painfully slow legal process four cases reached the Supreme Court.[22] Three cases ended in judgements against the Japanese Americans. In late 1944, the fourth case brought to the Supreme Court by the Japanese Americans was settled in their favor and the camps began to be closed in 1945. Thus Japanese Americans endured four years of life behind barbed wires knowing they were unjustly imprisoned.[23] The three cases which justified the removal and internment of Japanese Americans are still being challenged through the "Redress and Reparations Campaign" currently begin waged by the Japanese American Citizens League and other organizations.[24]

During World War II, many Japanese Americans sought to "prove" their loyalty to America by volunteering for the armed services. From the concentration camps and from Hawaii the men formed the famed 442nd Infantry Battalion and 100th Battalion which served in North Africa, Italy, and France. Together they sustained the heaviest losses in the history of the U.S. Army and became the most highly decorated unit in the U.S. Army.[25] In addition the Nisei also served in the Military Intelligence Service in the Pacific War against Japan. They intercepted enemy messages, interrogated prisoners, and translated documents of the Japanese enemy.[26]

After World War II Japanese Americans spent long years struggling to recover from the vast financial losses of their internment. They also fought vigorously for the removal of over 400 anti-Japanese laws, which still existed at both the state and national levels. Together with JACL at the helm, Japanese Americans overturned alien land laws, discriminatory immigration quotas, anti-miscengenation laws and secured naturalization priviliges for alien Japanese.[27]

In recent years, Japanese Americans have been able to seize opportunities for advancement into many different fields. Their visibility is apparent in some areas of employment, but this does not indicate a resolution of all of their issues, but it does indicate that Japanese Americans have become as heterogeneous as any group of Americans.

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NOTES

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[2] Mikiso Hane, Japan, a Historical Survey, (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1972) p.245-262.

[3] Ibid, p. 262-344

[4] Katharine Coman, History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands, New York: Arno Press, 1978) p.42 (originally published MacMillan Co., 1903)

[5] Yamato Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932; reprint Arno Press: NY 1969) p. 1=15

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[7] Hane, op.cit. p.367-375.

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[11] Roger Daniels, The Politics of Prejudice, the Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion, (New York: Atheneum, 1977)

[12] Chuman, Op.cit. p.65-66

[13] Ibid, p.73-89

[14] Ibid, p 98-103

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[17] Harry H. L. Kitano, Japanese Americans, the Evolution of a Subculture, (Englewood Cliff, N.J.:Prentice Hall: 1976, 2nd Ed.) p.11-68

[18] Hosowaka, op. cit. p 191-205

[19] Robert A. Wilson & Bill Hosokawa, East To America, A History of the Japanese in the United States, (New York:Wm. Morrow, 1980) p. 188-201

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[21] Roger Daniels, The Decision to Relocate Japanese Americans, (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1975)

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[25] Chet Tanaka, Go For Broke, A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, (San Francisco: Go For Broke Trust, 1981)

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[27] Chuman, op.cit.

III. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The demographic characteristics of Japanese Americans have been directly determined by patterns of immigration, the immigration restrictions of 1908 and the exclusion of 1924. Emigration from Japan began officially in 1885, but the Japanese did not emigrate in large numbers until 1900, the first year the total reached 10,000.[1] After 1908 there was a dramatic drop because of the restrictions imposed by the Gentlemen's Agreement. The 1930 Census reported 138,834 Japanese in the U.S. (excluding Hawaii).[2] Until 1940 the population was largely confined to Hawaii and the West Coast.

The wartime internment served, in some respects, to geographically displace the Japanese American population. For example, in 1940 there were 462 Japanese Americans in Illinois. In 1950, the first post-war Census, the population had grown to 11,646. Since then, Illinois has remained as one of the top five Japanese American population centers.[3]

The 1980 Census reports the total population of Japanese Americans in the United States to be 700,747 or 0.3% of the total population.[4] This represents an 18.5% growth from 591,290 in 1970, which also represented 0.3% of the total U.S. population.[5] A comparison of the five most populous states in 1970 and 1980 shows very little shifting in the Japanese American population.[6]

1970		1980		1970-1980 % growth	% total Pop.
Hawaii	217,175	Hawaii	239,618	10.3	24.8
California	213,277	California	261,817	22.8	1.1
Washington	20,188	Washington	26,369	29.7	0.6
New York	19,794	New York	24,524	20.5	0.1
Illinois	17,645	Illinois	18,550	7.2	0.2

Although Japanese Americans were always the largest Asian group in America for many decades, the 1980 Census now ranks Japanese Americans number three in total population. Chinese Americans now rank number one with a population of 806,027, and Filipino Americans rank second with 774,640.[7] 80% of the Japanese Americans still reside on the West Coast and Hawaii (in 1970, 81% resided in the West).[8]

The 1970 Census reports that 89.1% of the Japanese Americans are urban dwellers.[9] Research by Montero reveals that in his sampling in 1967 "only forty percent of the Nisei sample live in predominately Japanese American neighborhoods...the majority (58%) live in non-Japanese neighborhoods. This represents a dramatic shift from their early history of life in Japanese American ghettos.[10]

In 1976 the percentage of foreign born Japanese Americans was 25%. These figures are in sharp contrast to the percentage of foreign born amongst Chinese (66%), Koreans (80%), Filipinos (66%), Vietnamese (95% or more).[11] These statistics have implications for educational needs of Japanese American students. Additionally, 40% of the foreign born Japanese lived in Japanese speaking households and 14% usually spoke the Japanese language.

The distribution of school aged persons based upon the 1970 Census was as follows:

Elementary aged	99,778
Secondary aged	50,694
College aged	45,251

The median school years completed for Japanese Americans is 12.5 years, and 68.8% are high school graduates.[13] The median school years completed for white Americans is 12.1. There are regional differences in percentage of high school graduates with Illinois (77.5%) as the highest and Hawaii (60.3%) as the lowest. Only 26.3% of those 65 and over are high school graduates. The highest percentage of high school graduates are those who were 20-24 years old in 1970 (now 30-34 years old). Urban Japanese Americans tend to have a higher percentage of high school graduates (93.6% male and 93.8% female) compared to rural residents (89.0% male and 85.9% female).[14]

The short period of large scale immigration of Japanese led to the formation of distinct generations of Japanese Americans. The Issei or first generation came to the United States between 1885 and 1924 when immigration was allowed. From that time and roughly until World War II, the second generation or Nisei appeared. From the postwar period came the Sansei, or third generation Japanese Americans. Because of anti-miscegenation laws and strictly followed code of ethics amongst the Japanese there was a low percentage of outmarriages amongst Issei and Nisei. But the Sansei generation has experienced a rising percentage outmarriages. Outmarriages have increased from a low 2% in 1924 to 49% in 1972 in Los Angeles County. The percentage of female outmarriage has always been significantly higher than male outmarriages. In 1972 the rate was 44% for males and 56% for females in Los Angeles County.[15]

In summary Japanese Americans are presently the third largest in population of Asian American groups. They have fewer foreign born, tend to live integrated communities, and are basically urban dwellers. They have a high level of education attainment. As we discuss other features of the Japanese American community, we will discover that many of these statistics are deceiving and provide us with a very limited understanding of the group.

IV. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

NOTES

[1] Yamato Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932; reprint Arno Press: NY 1969) p. 66

[2] Ibid, p. 64

[3] Harry H.L. Kitano, Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall,1976, 2nd Ed.) p.211

[4] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population Supplementary Reports, Race of the Population by States: 1980. Issued July, 1981, p.7

[5] Ibid, p.13

[6] Ibid, p.13

[7] Ibid

[8] Ibid

[9] United States Department of Commerce, Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States, 1970 Census of Population, July, 1973.

[10] Darrel Montero, Japanese Americans: Changing Patterns of Ethnic Affiliation Over Three Generations, (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1980) p.37

[11] U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare/Education Division, National Center for Education Statistics, Bulletin, May 21, 1979. Birthplace and Language Characteristics of Persons of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino and Vietnamese Origin in the United States, Spring 1976.

[12] U.S. Census, 1970. op.cit.

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[14] Ibid

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IV. THE MYTH OF THE SUCCESSFUL MINORITY

During the turbulent 60's when all minorities were clamoring for equality in all areas of life, writers began to point their fingers at the Japanese Americans as the minority that "made it" despite overwhelming odds. This view emerged only twenty years after the Japanese Americans were released, discouraged and penniless, from the concentration camps of World War II. They were praised variously as the "model minority" and the "successful minority."

Writers argued that since the "bootstrap theory" had worked for Japanese Americans, why could not it work for Blacks, Chicanos and others? William Petersen in a well quoted article declared, "By any criterion of good citizenship that we choose, the Japanese Americans are better off than any other group in our society including native born whites."[1] In a 1971 Newsweek article, Petersen's point of view was reinforced with quotes from Harry Kitano who stated, "Scratch a Japanese American and you will find a Wasp."[2] and "Common measures of success find the Japanese on the 'right' side of the ledger."[3] Journalist Bill Hosokawa declared, "One by one the barriers vanished for the Japanese Americans - legal barriers, social barriers, barriers that blocked the way to job opportunities...Nisei were astonished and delighted to find themselves being wooed by employers."[4] More recently Wilson and Hosokawa have written, "It was a remarkable achievement made possible by the exemplary conduct of Japanese Americans during the war..."[5] They concluded their historical survey with a glowing report of the post war success of the Japanese Americans.[6] The evidence suggests that the myth of success is well entrenched.

To explore further, the median income for families in 1970 was $12,515[7] against the total U.S. median income of $9,590. 33 percent of the male Japanese Americans were involved in professional, technical, managerial and administrative fields compared to 25% of the total male work force.[8]

However, by closely examining the data, the "successful model" begins to crumble. For instance, the median family income figures do not take two important factors into consideration. First, a Japanese American family usually has two or three wage earners in a single household, which tends to inflate the median family income figure. Second, the majority (80%) of the Japanese Americans reside in West Coast states, which are established high cost-of-living regions. A report by the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights demonstrates that when comparable educational levels and salaries are matched there exists a significant discrepancy to our "success theory" and a different view of median income statistics.[9]

In a table which demonstrates the percentage of high school graduates who are employed in occupations which require less than a high school diploma, we consistently see a higher percentage of Japanese Americans. In 1976, 44.4% white Americans were working in jobs for which they were overqualified while 48.8% Japanese Americans were overqualified for their jobs.[10] Again in another table which indicates the percentage of persons with at least one year of college who are employed in occupations which typically require less education, the white percentage is 44.7% while for Japanese Americans 49.4%.[11] Furthermore when we examine another indicator which demonstrates median earnings of those with four or more years of college, the white median was $15,165 while for Japanese Americans it was $14,253.[12]

These data demonstrate the persistence of discrimination in employment against Japanese Americans. Despite the high level of education achieved by the Japanese Americans, there obviously is no equality in jobs as seen by income figures.

The plight of the Japanese American elderly is even more shocking. In 1970 there were 47,169 (8.01%) Japanese Americans who were 65 years and over.[13] 17.4% of these elderly Japanese were classified at the poverty level in California, where a major portion of the Japanese reside. Because of discrimination in employment and the financial losses of the internment these older Japanese Americans were excluded from jobs, or opportunities to earn pensions. Most Issei were self-employed or employed in low paying jobs which did not provide for retirement. Therefore the elderly Japanese Americans are faced with those problems which accompany poverty such as inadequate housing, nutrition, and health services, along with the additional burden of being non-English speaking.

Dr. K. Patrick Okura in his address to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights declared, "There's a widespread belief that Asian and Pacific Americans do not suffer the discrimination and disadvantages associated with other minority groups. The stereotyping of Asian/Pacific Americans as a success model among minority groups by virtue of hard work, education, thrift, and initiatives, has lulled the general public into an attitude of what we call benign neglect to the extent that Asian American concerns are secondary to the problems of other minority groups."[14]

Most importantly statistical data, as we have seen, does not begin to tell a complete story about a people. It makes no attempt to describe the heterogeneous nature of the Japanese Americans; it only provides averages which tell us very little. The successful minority myth is highly simplistic and biased.[15]

THE MYTH OF THE SUCCESSFUL MINORITY

NOTES

[1] William Petersen, Success Story, Japanese American Style, New York Times Magazine, January 9, 1966, p.20

[2] ____________, Success Story: Outwhiting the Whites, Newsweek, June 21, 1971, p 24-25

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[4] Bill Hosckawa, Nisei: The Quiet American, (New York: Wm. Morrow) 1969, p. 473

[5] Robert A. Wilson & Bill Hosowaka, East to America, History of the Japanese in the United States, (New York: Wm . Morrow) 1980, p.286

[6] Wilson, Ibid, p. 257-285; Hosokawa, op. cit. p. 473-488

[7] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, 1970 Census of Population, July 1973, p.42, Table 9

[8] Ibid, p. 13-39

[9] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Washington, DC, 1978

[10] Ibid, p. 18, Table 2.5

[11] Ibid, p. 20, Table 2.6

[12] Ibid, p. 24, Table 2.7

[13] U.S. Census, 1970, op. cit.

THE MYTH OF THE SUCCESSFUL MINORITY
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14
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights Issues of Asian and Pacific Americans: Myths and Realities, May 1979, p.669

15
A very helpful resource paper is Ki-Taek Chun, Henry A. Gordon, Esther Walters & Cathy H. Somers, Success of Asian Americans: Fact or Fiction?, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1980

V. EDUCATION AND THE JAPANESE AMERICAN

For some 80 years Japanese American students have been the subject of numerous studies. Most studies in the past have indicated that Japanese American students are hard working, high achieving, tend to be non-verbal, and select professions in science and math.[1] These stereotypes will be examined as well as additional educational issues which relate to the historical experience of Japanese Americans.

The most important issue is combating stereotypes and myths because they directly affect the self image of Japanese Americans entering school. This ranges from the myth of being foreign, culturally non-Wasp, and quiet, non-verbal, high achievers. They have implications for curriculum, teacher/student relations and career counseling. Related to these issues is the rationale and need for bilingual/bicultural programs for Japanese Americans.

This historical experience of Japanese Americans contains many important issues which have relevance for classrooms at every level. These issues include civil rights, the use of propaganda, redress and reparations, and the contributions made by Japanese Americans to the growth and development of the United States.

Myths, Stereotypes and Multicultural Education

The federal government began efforts fifteen years ago to promote cultural pluralism in schools to reflect the reality of our society. the concept of cultural pluralism implies that social-cultural distinctions must be recognized in our society. This is good and healthy, and should be fostered. The study of social-cultural distinctions will lead to increased understanding of behavioral patterns and develop positive self images for those who do not conform to the white middle class standards.

In another vein, Carlos E. Cortes in speaking of the power of the media declares, "The media - television, motion pictures, magazines, newspapers, and radio - serve as some of the most powerful, relentless educators within the societal curriculum."[2] Eugene F. Wong further attests to the racist nature of the media as it relates to Asians in the United States.[3] So even before the Japanese American child enters school, others have formed impressions of him/her through the media.

It is a fact that a blue eyed child is hardly ever questioned about the land of his/her birth but even a third generation Japanese American child is frequently asked, "Where were you born?" or "When did you come from Japan?" The inability to accept the Japanese American as American becomes a form of rejection.

In 1968 during the height of the desegregation programs, Japanese American educators began to communicate their concerns about the lack of materials on Japanese Americans for use in mutlticultural programs. Groups organized to call attention to this need. They pointed out that much of the materials written about Japanese Americans were inaccurate. For instance, Noel Leathers wrote that the United States was the "adopted country" of the Japanese Americans.[4] When you are a born a citizen of the U.S. it is not an adopted country. He also wrote that the evacuation was"the safest procedure in view of the wartime excitement..."[5] More seriously, none of these books described how the Japanese Americans fought against discrimination. They were depicted solely as victims. For example Ritter, Ritter & Spector make mention of the $36,000,000 paid to Japanese Americans after the war,[5A] but do no mention that the Japanese Americans launched, financed and fought this battle with the government. Nor did they mention that this amount was less than 10% of the estimated losses incurred by the Japanese Americans.

One of the groups which organized at the time was the Japanese American Curriculum Project, a non-profit educational organization of San Mateo, California. This organization began a drive to develop more accurate Japanese American curriculum and materials, which were written from their point of view. After their initial projects, they began to disseminate materials, and expand their concern to Asian American materials in general. All of their offerings are examined for accuracy and usefulness for the classroom and home. Presently JACP offers over 300 different materials on Asian Americans ranging from the pre-school to university levels. A descriptive catalogue may be obtained by sending $1.00 to JACP, Inc., 414 East 3rd Ave., San Mateo, CA 94401.

Good materials applied sensitively can go a long ways towards eliminating stereotypes. Two good guides which educators can use to judge materials are:

The Portrayal of Asian Americans in Children's Books, Council of Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, Vol.7, Nos. 2 & 3, 1976.

The Asian Image in the United States, Asian Americans for Fair Media, New York 1974.

Both may be obtained from JACP.

The myth of being quiet, hard-working, non-verbal, and high achieving places unfair burdens on Japanese American students. When teachers encourage this type of behavior, they reward students for remaining stereotypic. Teachers need to encourage verbal skills, and consciously select Japanese American students to engage in discussions, debates and presentations. It is very important to create an atmosphere in which Japanese American students can feel comfortable enough to pursue their own path in society. To insure this kind of environment Japanese Americans in selected areas have organized special programs.

Bilingual and Bicultural Programs

Demographic information on Japanese Americans indicates that 25% are foreign born in contrast to much higher percentages for Chinese, Koreans and other Asian American groups. Therefore bilingual/bicultural education has different implications for them. This does not mean that there is a lesser need, but instead different needs.

The Directory of Asian and Pacific American Bilingual Programs in the United States list a total of 452 Bilingual Programs for 1980.[6] Of these only 28 programs either contain a Japanese/English element, section or separate program. This is 6% of the total.[7] Since Japanese are approximately 20% of the Asian and Pacific American population, 6% appears to to be a very small share of bilingual programs.

The San Francisco Unified School District is an example of a full time Bilingual/Bicultural Japanese/English Program funded through Title VII. This program came about through the concerted efforts of concerned parents of the district.

In 1969 the San Francisco Japanese Speaking Society of America presented a request to the San Francisco Unified School District for a Japanese Bilingual Bicultural Program. Their request was denied on the basis that such a program did not command the support of the Japanese American community. The JSSA then joined forces with the Japanese Community Services to explore educational issues of all Japanese American students. In 1973 the Board of Education approved a Japanese Bilingual Bicultural Program for kindergarten through second grade. From that beginning the present program has 348 students at three school sites, and 9 classroom teachers for kindergarten through seventh grade.

All regular subjects required by the District are taught through the program. They include reading, math, social studies, language arts, science, physical education, art, music and multicultural studies. Also included in the curriculum are Japanese language and culture, i.e. music, arts, festivals, games, foods, family and community life. Upon visiting the classroom, one can immediately sense the warm supportive environment for Japanese American students to learn about a more positive self-image, and to learn English. The pictures on the wall, the curriculum materials, and the teachers all support self identity as a Japanese

American.

This is an environment in which students learn abouth things which have a direct relationship to them as individuals, a language which will help them communicate with their grandparents; activities and skills which will fill them with a special pride in being Japanese Americans. Even the recent immigrant child will be learning English in a friendly supportive environment and even be an expert in skills that his/her American born friends are just learning.

Many Japanese Americans have begun to recognize the effects of racism on the self-image of their children and have taken steps to prevent this kind of psychological damage. This has resulted in the organization of a number of special private programs for Japanese Amrican children to develop a more positive self-image through the learning of their own culture through history, crafts, language, arts and foods. These programs are held during the summer months. In San Jose, California ther is the Suzume No Gakko, and in Sacramento, CA the Jan Ken Po Gakko.

The Concentration Camps of World War II

The concentration camp experience of World War II stands out as one of the most glaring examples of the abrogation of civil rights of United States citizens. Roger Daniel states, "It is possible to argue that the massive violations of civil liberties of one group, the West Coast Japanese, was an ominous prefiguration of the future in which an increasingly powerful federal bureaucracy would exercise more and more surveillance and potential control over groups and individuals deemed, in one way or another, to be deviant."[8] Michi Weglyn in her book, Years of Infamy, writes, "...

I hope this uniquely American story will serve as a reminder to all those who cherish their liberties of the very fragility of their rights against the exploding passions of thier more numerous fellow citizens, and as a warning that they who say that it can never happen again are probably wrong."[9]

The concentration camp story should be included in every classroom discussion on civil liberties, along with examples of violations against Black, Native American and other groups. Civil liberties cannot be taught without a warning to students that their constant vigilance is the only safeguard for ALL citizens.[10]

Social studies curriculums usually include the concept of propaganda, its use and ramifications. Rather than focus on examples from American history, they tend to use Nazi example, which is foreign. The unjust removal of the Japanese Americans would never have been possible without a carefully executed justification through the media of the time. The newspapers and radio were filled with innuendoes built upon rumors which people accepted as fact. A typical example from that period is as follows:

> "Information from Pearl Harbor, now well authenticated, reveals that when officers and men got the sudden call to report to their stations they were impeded and seriously delayed in many instances by farm implements, jallopies, and any other obstacle at hand, placed in the street during the night." 11

The strong inference is there. This statement has since been proven to be completely false, but you can imagine the impact that such a barrage of similar statements had at the time. Japanese Americans alien and citizen alike were always refereed to as "JAPS", a very derogatory and inflammatory term. Newspapers and radios frequently used the term until Japanese Americans put a stop to it.

To this day these rumors and half truths are still believed by the masses rather than the facts as researched and written later. It is a demonstration of the impact of propaganda and how easy it is to play upon racism to create an air of panic. With this artificially created diversion, those with evil intent are free to plunder the innocent victims as was the case for the Japanese Americans.

Another amazing saga is that of the Japanese Americans who volunteered out of these concentration camps and Hawaii for the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. They fought on the battlefields of North Africa, Italy and Farnace with "Go for Broke" (give it your all) as their motto. These units became the most highly decorated units in the history of the U.S. Army with a tragically high casualty rate.[12]

The intriguing story of the Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service in the South Pacific tells of an even more incredibly heroic group of men. They worked in an arena in which they could be and often were mistaken for the Japanese enemy. They wer the inmportant secret weapon of the U.S. Army which was instrumental in turning the tide of war much earlier than anticipated by military experts of that time.[13]

In 1980 Congress established the Commission on Wartme Relocation and Internment of Civilians to reinvestigate the Evacuation period, and to make recommendations for appropriate redress. During 1981 the Commission held hearings throughout the United States to receive testimonies from Japanese Americans and other concerned persons. The hearings began in Washington D.C. during July, 1981. Three Japanese American organizations have been directly involved in the redress and reparations campaign. They are:

The National Committee for Redress of the Japanese
American Citizens League
1765 Sutter St.
San Francisco, California 94115
(415) 921-5225

National Coalition for Reparation and Redress
244 S. San Pedro, Room 406
Los Angeles, California 90012

National Council for Japanese American Redress
925 West Diversey Parkway
Chicago, Illinois 60614

You can write to any of these organizations to receive materials concerning redress for use in the classroom. It is anticipated that this issue will be before the public for many years before it is resolved.

The Japanese Americans have set out to challenge the Supreme Court decisions which justified their incarceration without due process of law. This drive towards achieving justice for Japanese Americans through monetary reparations will result in the strengthening of the civil rights of all Americans.

There are numerous other issues which justify your attention for including Japanese Americans in the study of the growth and development of the United States. Japanese Americans, for instance played a major role in the development of California as an agricultural state.[14]

There are many aspects of the Japanese American culture which can be included in the study of arts, crafts, and literature. Nationally known personalities in the arts include Isamu Noguchi, sculptor,[15] Ruth Asawa, sculptor, Minoru Yamasaki, architect,[16] Chiura Obata, artist,[17] Mine Okubo, artist,[18] Sono Osato, dancer[19]. Crafts include origami (the art of paper folding), sumi-e (the art of brush painting), calligraphy (the art of writing with the brush). Outstanding Japanese American writers include Toshio Mori,[20] John Okada,[21] Milton Murayama,[22] Monica Sone,[23] and Yoshiko Uchida.[24] Janice Mirikitani,[25] Lawson Inada,[26] Mitsuye Yamada,[27] Hisaye Yamamoto, Wakako Yamauchi, and Momoko Iko are also outstanding writers. Hiroshi Kashiwagi writes short plays about the Japanese Americans. These are but a few examples of the wealth of literary artists amongst Japanese Americans.

The musical group, Hiroshima,[28] has composed numerous songs, performed many concerts, and displayed their unique blending of Japanese instruments and American sounds. There are also a number of performing Taiko Drum groups which carry on the tradition of celebrating festivals and festive occasions with their performances. In a number of urban areas there are organized Asian American theatre groups like Los Angeles' East-West Players who perform plays about the Asian American experience.

Exploring the Japanese American community can be an interesting project. It can be a meaningful sequel to your studies of the history and contributions of a small but vigorously heterogenous minority group.

EDUCATION AND THE JAPANESE AMERICANS-NOTES

[1] Harry H.L. Kitano, Japanese Americans: the Evolution of a Subculture, (Englewood, NJ, Prentice Hall) 1976, p. 196: United States Department of Commerce, Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States, 1970 Census of Population, July, 1973.

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[3] Eugene Franklin Wong, On Visual Media Racism, Asians in the American Motion Pictures, Arno Press, 1978.

[4] Noel L. Leather, The Japanese in America, (Minneapolis, MN; Learner Publications) 1967, p. 40.

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[5A] Ed Ritter, Helen Ritter & Stanley Spector, Our Oriental America, (San Francisco, Ca; McGraw-Hill) 1965, p. 70.

[6] Asian American Bilingual Center et al, Directory of Asian and Pacific American Bilingual Programs in the United States, June 1980.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Roger Daniels, The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, (New York, J.B. Lippincott Company) 1975, p. 3.

[9] Michi Weglyn, Years of Infamy, (New York, William Morrow) 1976, p. 22.

[10] For a complete listing of classroom resources refer to the current catalogue of JACP,Inc., Box 367, San Mateo, CA 94401.

[11] A JACP, Inc., reproduction, Wartime Hysteria: the Role of the Press, (San Mateo, CA) 1971, p.3.

[12] Chet Tanaka, Go For Broke, A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, San Francisco, Go For Broke Foundation, 1981.

[13] Joseph D. Harrington, Yankee Samurai, Pettigrew Enterprises, Inc., 1979.

[14] Masakazu, Iwata, Planted in Good Soil, Issei Contributions to United States Agriculture, University of Hawaii Press, 1982.

[15] Sam Hunter, Isamu Noguchi, (New York, Abbeville Press) 1965: Isamu Noguchi, the Life of a Sculptor, Tobi Tobias, (Crowell, New York) 1974.

[16] Minoru Yamasaki, A Life in Architecture, (Tokyo, Weatherhill) 1979.

[17] Chiura Obata, Through Japan with Brush and Ink, (Tuttle,) 1969.

[18] Mine Okubo, Citizen 13660, (Arno Press, New York) 1969 a reprint.

[19] Sono Osato, Distant Dances, (New York, Knopf) 1980.

[20] Toshio Mori, The Chauvinist, (Los Angeles, UCLA) 1979.

[21] John Okada, No No Boy, reprinted by the University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA, originally published in 1957 by Tuttle.

[22] Milton Murayama, All I Ask For is My Body, Supa Press, 1979.

[23] Monica Sone, Nisei Daughter, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1953, reprinted by University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA.

[24] Yoshiko Uchida is a prolific writer of children's books. See JACP brochure for listing of available books.

[25] Janice Mirikitani, Awake in the River, (San Francisco, Isthmus Press) 1978.

[26] Lawson Inada, Before the War, (New York, Wm. Morrow) 1971.

[27] Mitsuye Yamada, Camp Notes and Other Poems, (San Lorenzo, CA: Shameless Hussy Press) 1976.

[28] Hiroshima has produced two records; 1) Hiroshima, Arista Records and 2) Hiroshima Odori, Arista Records. There are additional recordings by Asian American composers and performers.

Listing of Japanese/English Bilingual Programs in the United States, June 1980

Anchorage School District, Pouch 6-614, Anchorage, Ak 99502   907 333 9561
West Lake School, 80 Fieldcrest Drive, Daly City, CA 94014
William Land School, 2020 12th St., Sacramento, CA 95818
Einstein Junior High School, 5050 Conrad Avenue, San Diego, CA 92117
Madison High School, 4833 Doliva Dr., San Diego. CA 92117
Anza School, 40 Vega St., San Francisco, CA 94115   415 922 0200
Morning Star School, 1715 Octavia St., San Francisco, CA 94109   415 921 4436
Presidio Middle School, 450 30th Ave., San Fancisco, CA 94121   415 753 9696
Sherman School, 1651 Union St., San Francisco, CA 94123   415 776 5500
Hawaii Bilingual/Bicultural Education Project, 233 S. Vineyard St.
Honolulu, HI 96813   808 548 3493
Einstein School, 345 West Walnut, Des Plaines, IL 60016
High Ridge Knolls Center, 588 South Dara James, Des Plaines, Il 60016
Mark Hopkins, 231 S. Shadywood Ln. Elk Grove, Il
Champaign Central High School, 610 West University, Champaign, IL 61820
Ray Harte School, 5641 S. Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Il 60625
Dewey School, 1551 Wesley Avenue, Evanston, Il 60201
Chute Middle School, 1400 Oakton, Evanston, Il 60202
Plum Grove Junior High School, 2600 W. Plum Grove Rd, Rolling Meadows, IL 60067
Sanborn School, 101 North Oak Street, Palatine, Il 60067
Schaumburg School, 520 East Schaumburg Road, Schaumburg, Il 60194
Eisenhower Junior High School, 800 West Hassell Road, Hoffman Estates, Il 60195
Martin L. King School, 1008 West Fairview, Urbana, IL 61801
Stevenson School, 1375 South Wolf Rd., Wheeling, IL 60090
Louise E. McKenzie School, Central and Prarie, Wilmette, IL 60091
Eastchester School District, 580 White Plains Raod, Eastchester, NY 10707
Douglas School System, Box Elder, SD 57719
Laurelhurst School, 4530 - 46th Avenue, N.E., Seattle, Wa 98105
Tacoma Public Schools, #10, P.O. Box 1357, Tacoma, WA 98401

VI. ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS

Asian American Studies at the university level was born during the turbulent sixties. Contrary to most predictions, Asian American studies programs have existed for ten years, and continue to generate student interest despite unfriendly and uncooperative campus administrations.

From their experimental beginnings Asian American Studies programs have grown to support intellectual inquiries of the "political, economic and historical forces affecting Asian Americans."[1] The continued existence of these programs depends upon students and faculty who are willing to wage the never ending battle against cutbacks in budgets and staffing intended to decrease these programs.

Northern California remains the stronghold for Asian American Studies because two of the largest programs in terms of student enrollment are located there. In 1978, both San Francisco State University and University of California Berkeley estimated their student enrollments to be 1500.[2] Other programs are located in the West Coast and other parts of the country.

The University of California, Los Angeles (U.C.L.A.) is perhaps the most well known Asian American Studies program because of its ambitious publishing programs. It issues Amerasia Journal, which has become the most respected journal in the field. In addition, it has published a number of other books and materials which are used by students throughout the United States.[3] UCLA also houses the Japanese American Research Project Collection, which is the most extensive archival collection on Japanese Americans.

"The goals of Asian American Studies programs remain diverse. For some programs, the goals of Asian American Studies remain consistent with its founding goals - to provide students with an alternative educational perspective, to provide them with involvement in the decision making process and planning of programs, and to provide a progressive framework for serving Asian American communities."[4]

The recent influx of Asian immigrants pose a new challenge for Asian American Studies. Asian immigrant students were raised in a different environment than the founders of Asian American Studies programs, who tended to be third generation. Therefore their perceptions about themselves as Asians will be quite different.

The rise in foreign born Asians and the rising interracial marriages amongst Asians will necessarily become important factors in the future development of Asian American Studies. There has been little discussion about how these factors will change Asian American Studies, but the challenge of change is an unavoidable certainty.

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[1] Don T. Nakanishi and Russell Leong, "Toward the Second Decade a National Survey of Asian American Studies Programs." *Amerasia Journal,* Vol. 5, No.1, 1978, pp.1-2.

[2] Ibid., p.9

[3] For further information write to Asian American Studies Center, 3232 Campbell Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024

[4] Op. cit., Nakanishi & Leong, p. 18.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The history of the Japanese in America has been filled with many forms of racism. It is a history which is little known and much misunderstood; from the concentration camp experience to the myths which tend to declare that Japanese Americans are successful and without problems. This paper has attempted to dispute those myths, while also demonstrating the diversity of the group.

When levels of education and corresponding income are compared with the majority, we find that Japanese Americans receive a lower salary at every educational level. When we examine poverty level amongst elderly Japanese Americans we find an alarming high level of poverty. We charge that these data are not compatible with success. There is still discrimination in employment which prevent Japanese Americans from earning salaries which are commensurate with their educational levels. The poverty of the elderly stems from long years of job discrimination and the devastations of the concentration camps which left them with little or no retirement benefits.

In looking at the concentration camp experience of the Japanese Americans there still remains a great deal of misunderstanding which is based upon the propaganda which inundated the media during 1941-45. This single action by the United States Government had a serious effect upon all Japanese Americans. They are still struggling to correct the violations of civil rights which occurred during their evacuation and internment. This issue has many implications for the classroom in the study of civil rights and the uses of propaganda.

For Japanese Americans, "A more practical solution that many Japanese Americans have chosen to follow during the stringent 1970's is the capture of enhanced self-esteem through a reinvigorated wedding of their Japanese selves with their American heritage. Their goal is not to fuse themselves, but to relate to both traditions in varying degrees."[1]

If we recognize the fact that Japanese Americans have been the victims of one of the worst episodes of racism against Asians in America and see that Japanese Americans are receiving only 6% of the federal monies allotted to Asian American bilingual/bicultural programs, then we would need to conclude that there are some serious disparities in educational funding where Japanese Americans are concerned. In the case of the Japanese Americans, bilingual/bicultural education is necessary to overcome the racist heritage under which they still suffer.

At the primary and intermediate levels bilingual/bicultural programs are needed, while at the secondary and university levels Asian American Studies programs are needed. It is clear that Japanese Americans' educational needs are numerous and justifiable. The time has come for funding agencies to recognize that their needs in education must be met to resolve concerns which have many other implications than just the mollification of a people. There is much to be learned from Japanese American history and culture through the present Japanese American community.

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RESOURCES

Organizations

Asian American Studies Center, 3232 Campbell Hall, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024. Developers and disseminators of university level journals and books.

Asian American Bilingual Center, 1414 Walnut Street, Berkeley, CA 94709, (415) 848 3199. Developers and disseminators Japanese/English elementary students' materials.

Japanese American Citizens League, National Headquarters, 1765 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA 94115, (415) 921 5225. National organization for advocacy. Request free informational materials.

JACP, Inc., 414 East Third Avenue, San Mateo, CA 94401, (414) 343 9408. Non-profit educational organization which sells Asian American books and materials. Brochure available upon request. Send $1.00.

Pacific Citizen, The National Publication of the Japanese American Citizens League, 244 S. San Pedro, Rm 506, Los Angeles, CA 90012. Published weekly.

National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education, P.O. Box 367, San Mateo, CA 94401. Issues copies of research papers presented at their annual conference related to Asian American educational issues. List available upon request.

Audiovisuals

JACP, Inc., Prejudice in America: The Japanese Americans, Stanford, CA. Multi Media Productions, 1971. Secondary level, 4 filmstrips & cassettes on Japanese America history.

JACP, Inc., Japanese Americans: An Inside Look, Stanford, CA, Multi Media Productions, 1974. Elementary/secondary; 2 filmstrips/cassette.

Visual Communication, I Told You So, Los Angeles, CA 16mm black & white, 18 minutes. A film about Lawson Inada, a well know Japanese American poet.

Visual Communications, Wataridori: Birds of Passage, 16 mm color, 37 minutes. Covers the experience of the first generation Japanese in the United States.

Note: These resources are available for preview/purchase from JACP, 414 E. 3rd Avenue, San Mateo, CA 94401

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OVERVIEW OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF CHINESE AMERICANS

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Approximately 587,000 of the two million persons of Asian ancestry residing in the United States are of Chinese heritage (NCES Bulletin, 1979). This ethnic group is the second largest group of Asians living in the United States. While statistically the Chinese are less than 3/10 of 1 percent of the total U. S. population, they have been a prominent cultural and ethnic group in the multicultural fabric of American life. Other Americans are often intrigued by the life style, food, and rich cultural heritage displayed by their fellow Chinese inhabitants. Most persons living in or visiting cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, or New York have visited at one time or another, the "Chinatown" in these cities. Many non-Asians have become fond of Chinese cuisine and art. Behind these superficial acquaintances, however, lies a very complex and diverse ethnic group which defies easy description or understanding. The purpose of this essay is to present a brief sketch of the educational progress of the Chinese in America and introduce the reader to the complexities and problems faced by this ethnic group.

I. WHO ARE THE CHINESE IN AMERICA?

It is impossible to describe "the" Chinese person in America. Persons of Chinese ancestry living in America range from recent immigrants to sixth-generation Chinese Americans. The Chinese were the first Asians to immigrate to the United States in large numbers. Their migration to the West Coast in the 1840s was encouraged by economic depression and social unrest in China and by over-population in certain provinces (Purcell, 1965; Sue, 1973). Californians initially welcomed the Chinese immigrants because of the demands for cheap labor during a period of high inflation brought on by the Gold Rush (Kitano, 1974). Chinese immigrants quickly filled domestic service jobs and were hired to help build the Transcontinental Railroad. As the labor market diminished, however, and as the Chinese began to enter into the gold fields, anti-Chinese sentiment emerged. American hostility towards the Chinese was well formed by 1852 and continued through the 1860s and 70s during which time many Chinese were assaulted and killed by white mobs. The anti-Chinese movement culminated in passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which was made permanent in 1902 and not repealed until the beginning of World War II when China became an American ally (Saxton, ; Miller, ; Sue, 1973).

The Chinese population in the United States has changed significantly since World War II. A comparison of 1960 and 1970 Census data shows that the Chinese population in the United States grew by 84 percent. The majority of this increase were immigrants who came to the United States between 1965-1970 after the enactment of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. This Act, still in effect, allows 20,000 immigrants per country into the United States. Coupled with the waves of post-Vietnam refugees, many of whom are ethnically Chinese, the 1980 Census is likely to show an even sharper increase in the Chinese population in the United States. Because the Chinese population in the United States has grown significantly during the last fifteen years, research on this ethnic group before 1965 must be view with some caution.

II. WHAT ARE THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHINESE IN AMERICA?

Presently, 34 percent of the Chinese in America are American born while the remainder are foreign born. Seventy-nine percent of foreign born Chinese originated from China (NCES Bulletin, 1979). It is not possible, however, to distinguish among those originating from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong. Although, from available data, it is not possible to ascertain which dialect of Chinese is spoken, 83 percent of the Chinese in the United States live in homes in which Chinese is spoken. Only half that number are families in which only Chinese is spoken, while the remainder live in bilingual homes or homes in which English is usually spoken (NCES Bulletin, 1979).

Although conflicting data exists (Kim, 1978), the analysis by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978) sugeested that the Chinese in America have attained educational parity with majority group males. In 1976, 88 percent of Chinese men and 90 percent of Chinese women from ages 20-24 completed twelve or more years of school. Sixty percent of Chinese males and 44 percent of Chinese females from ages 25-29 completed college. While the educational attainment of Chinese in America seemed comparable to the majority population, education to job equity was substantially less for the Chinese as compared to other groups. More than half of Chinese males and females with more than one year of college were overqualified for the jobs they held. Male Chinese college graduates earned 84 percent of what majority male college graduates earned.

Cabezas and Yee (1977) found that compared to their proportion in the population Chinese were underrepresented in high-wage job categories (e.g., managerial/administrators) and overrepresented in blue collar or low-wage jobs (e.g., seamstress, food service, clerical, and cleaning). Educational attainment is not necessarily the route to social or economic parity.

The median income for Chinese families in 1970 was $10,610 which was slightly better than the median family income for the total U. S. population ($9,950). This statistic, although often quoted as a sign of success, is misleading. The Chinese in America reside largely in urban areas with nearly 60 percent of them living in San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, or Honolulu. Since the majority of Chinese families live in urban settings the median family income must take into account the higher cost of urban living. As an indication of this possible influence of living in concentrated urban settings, the median income for Chinese males in urban areas was found to be considerably lower than for Whites, Blacks, or Hispanics in every metropolitan area except Los Angeles (Owan, 1975).

In addition, the median family income figures may not be the best statistic to use in comparing income parity because they do not account for differences in the number of persons living in a family. A better indicator of economic status is the median income per capita within a household. This statistic represents the average available income for each member of the household unit, thus taking into account differences in family size. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978) reported that the median household income per capita for a Chinese family is 11 percent less than that for a household headed by a majority male. Using household income per capita, Chinese are 1.89 times more likely to be living in poverty than families headed by majority males. For Chinese female headed households these statistics are even more bleak. Chinese female headed households make 59 percent less than the majority male headed families and are 2.11 times more likely to be living in poverty (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978).

Furthermore, a number of authors have pointed out that the Chinese family has a proportionately higher number of multiple wage earners in the family unit than the average American family (Cabezas & Yee, 1977; Chun, 1980). In Chinese-headed households more people are making less money than in majority group households.

It can be concluded that the Chinese in America are a largely urban group, comprised of both American born and foreign born persons, who are fairly well educated, overworked, and underpaid. A fuller critique of the myth of the Asian American success story can be found in a cogent analysis by Chun (1980). As he states, "When examined closely, the image of Asian American success dissolves helplessly, baring strands of past discrimination, sacrifice and overwork, preoccupation with survival, and disquieting feeling of lost identity."

III. CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

Several authors have described the general features of Chinese American culture and its role in psychological development (Chan, Takanishi, & Kitano, 1975; Sue 1973; Sue & Kirk, 1972; Sung, 1971).

For example, Lee (1952) investigated the relationship between parent/child cultural conflicts and Chinese-American delinquency; Kung (1962) and Hsu (1971) described Chinese family and kinship patterns as characterized by obedience and cooperation. Kriger and Kroes (1972) found Chinese mothers to be more restrictive in child rearing attitudes than Jewish and Protestant mothers. Steward & Steward (1977) observed Anglo, Mexican American, and Chinese American mothers teaching their preschool-aged children a sorting and motor skills game. They found that Chinese American mothers offered significantly less input than Anglo-American mothers but gave more enthusiastic, positive feedback than any other group. The teaching styles of Chinese mothers was also characterized by their specificity of instruction. Kim (1978) in her analysis of Asian Americans in the Chicago area found that Chinese families continued to rely on extended family ties and friends for assistance in child rearing.

Keeping in mind that characterizations of stable personality traits of any population has not been extremely successful (Mischel, 1973), the Chinese have been characterized as generally obedient, conforming, punctual, and have respect for authority (Sue, Sue & Sue, 1975). Teachers have often described Chinese children as quiet, well-behaved, and obedient (Suzuki, 1978). Personality characterization may be largely based on stereotypic perceptions of the population and lack and appreciation for the diversity of children in the Chinese American community. Observations of Chinese American children at home and at school would reveal many different personalities and find children who may be quiet in one setting and gregarious and talkative in another setting.

IV. LEARNING CHARACTERISTICS

Chinese students have been described by many as high achievers. A review of the several studies comparing the academic achievement of different ethnic groups showed that Chinese students were achieving at or slightly higher than the national norm (Backman, 1972; Clark, Fifer, & Lesser, 1965; Lesser & Stodolsky, 1967; Mayeske, Okada, Beaton, Cohen, & Wisler, 1975). However, all these studies derived their results from data collected before or immediately after the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. As noted earlier, the population has increased and diversified drastically since 1965 and the characteristics and background of these new immigrants are different from those already in the U.S. Pre-1965 research are likely to be inaccurate indicators of the current achievement levels of the Chinese American students. With the influx of new immigrants, we are likely to see an increase in the number of Chinese pupils who are limited and non-English speaking, from low socioeconomic backgrounds, and with diverse experiences with formal education. These and other characteristics of new immigrants are likely to present new challenges to American education.

In addition to demographic and experience differences, some researchers have suggested psychological differences between Chinese and majority persons. Several studies have investigated different constructs of cognitive styles of Chinese students. Hsi and Lim

(1977) reviewed these studies and concluded that while Chinese students differed from other comparison groups in various cognitive styles, the differences were inconsistent and efforts to explain the differences were unsatisfactory. Differences in cognitive styles, however, if confirmed could implicate differences in learning styles and information processing, as well.

Language learning studies have reported that the reading and writing styles of students whose first language is Chinese differed from those whose first langage is English (Wong, 1979; Chu-Chang & Loritz, 1977; So, Potter & Friedman, 1976; Tseng & Wong, 1977). Similarly, in mathematics, researchers have found that Chinese immigrant students' understanding and mathematics concepts differed from native born students (Tsang, 1976; Ng & Tsang, 1980).

The above studies provide us with a limited picture of the learning characteristics of Chinese students. In general, the results suggested that the learning characteristics of Chinese students, especially immigrant students, differ from U. S. students. However, little is known about how these different learning characteristics affect a Chinese student's school performance. Indeed, there are many ways to learn and therefore learning characteristic differences may suggest a need for curricular flexibility rather than a need for remedial training or readjustment of culturally relevant learning styles. More research is warranted before a comprehensive profile of the learning characteristics of Chinese students can be developed and applied in classroom curricula and pedagogies.

V. THE CHINESE AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Bilingual education, sometimes called bilingual/bicultural education, can be broadly defined as instruction in English and the students' home language. Depending on whom one asks, the goals of bilingual education vary but usually consist of one or more of the following: (1) to teach the content subjects in a language the students understand while they acquire English language proficiency, (2) to use culturally relevant curricula to facilitate learning and to increase students' self-concept, and (3) maintain the students' home languages and culture through classroom instruction. Envisioned as results of bilingual education are children who communicate competently in English and their home language, and who operate successfully in both the mainstream society and their home environment (Cordasco & Bernstein, 1979; LaFontaine, Persky & Golubchuck, 1978).

A form of bilingual education in the Chinese community began in the 19th century when the early Chinese immigrants became settled in the U. S. Those with family, though very few, found that their children were not allowed into the public schools. Private schools were organized. The curriculum in these private schools consisted mainly of Chinese classics, and the language of instruction was Chinese. The goal of these schools was to inculcate the traditional Chinese virtues to the children and thus bring up Chinese scholars.

Later, when public schools started to accept Chinese students, most of these Chinese schools changed their operational hours to the late afternoons or weekends. Chinese parents sent their children to the public schools to learn the English language and other subjects and, after the regular school hours, to private Chinese schools for the maintenance of the Chinese language and culture. This was an early form of bilingual education.

The "modern" Chinese bilingual education movement began in 1968 when federal funds were awarded to establish self-constrained Chinese bilingual programs in two public schools, one in New York and one in San Francisco, for the limited English and non-English speaking (LES/NES) Chinese students. In the next several years, schools in several cities with high concentrations of Chinese, such as New York and Boston, also received funds to operate bilingual programs.

Around the same time, in 1970, Chinese parents brought the Lau vs. Nichols (414 U. S. 565, 1974) suit against the San Francisco Unified School District, claiming that the schools were not providing equal educational opportunities to Chinese students who were instructed in a language they did not understand. The plaintiff asked for bilingual education as the remedy, and the case went to the U. S. Supreme Court. In 1974, the court ruled in favor of the plaintiff and mandated the San Francisco Board of Education to rectify the problem and to provide services that met the special linguistic needs of Chinese students (Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977).

The Lau vs. Nichols ruling, though it did not specify any remedy, provided further momentum for bilingual education. Several states passed legislation mandating bilingual education for LES and NES students. The Title VII Bilingual Education Act of 1968 has provided seed money for establishing demonstration bilingual programs and has produced a steady increase in bilingual eudcation programs in the last decade.

At present, bilingual education programs can be found in every city with a large Chinese population. Under Title VII, a network also was established to provide services to the school programs. This network consists of resource centers which provide direct services to schools requesting information or technical assistance, material development centers to develop bilingual curricula, and dissemination and assessment centers which publish bilingual curriculum materials and provided technical assistance in assessment to school districts. There is also a nationwide information clearinghouse[1] which gathers and disseminates information related to bilingual education.

The concept and implementation of bilingual education is not without criticism. Some argue that the duty of LES/NES student is to learn the English language. They argue that the most effective way to do this is to immerse the child in an all English curriculum at school. Others argue that a culturally relevant (bilingual) curriculum promotes ethnocentrism in the students and prevents them from interacting with and integrating into mainstream society.

Maintenance of the home language and culture is the most controversial aspect of bilingual education. Critics suggest that a home language other than English has no place in U. S. society, while others suggest that maintenance of a home language handicaps a child's English language acquisition. Critics suggest that the teaching of Chinese in schools takes away instructional time for English-as-a-second-language, as well as other subject matters. Others state that while they support the maintenance of home languages, it is the function of the Chinese language schools and not the federal government or the public school system to support non-English instruction. Finally, there are those who fear that the maintenance of home language and culture will lead to separatism among the various ethnic groups in the United States.

Supporters of bilingual education counter their critics by suggesting that bilingual education does not inhibit the acquisition of English and, in fact, provides a far richer educational experience for non-English and English speaking children who enroll. They also argue that the maintenance of one's home language and culture is a basic right in this multicultural nation and strengthens rather than weakens the society. Bilingual/bicultural education is said to promote better academic achievement, better mental health, and better adaptation to adult life than monolingual education. Supporters of bilingual education point to educational systems around the world which promote rather than inhibit multiple language learning.

Many of the arguments for and against bilingual education remain based largely on myths or emotions. While recent studies of bilingual education have indicated relative success of the program, the sparse amount of research on bilingualism and bilingual education have not provided policy-makers or educators with concrete data on the pros and cons of bilingual education. A wide spectrum of research including the establishment of the National Center for Bilingual Research is currently being supported by the National Institute of Education. These efforts will shed light on this very controversial idea.

VI. CONCLUSION

This brief overview of the educational progress of the Chinese in America has examined the complex characteristics of this ethnic group. In particular, Chinese children in American schools represent a diverse group of children who are fourth or fith generation American citizens to others who are recent immigrants. Chinese pupils vary in their approach to learning as well as their degree of acculturation into the mainstream of American life. Chinese pupils also represent a diverse linguistic group with some children speaking fluent English and speaking no Chinese to those who are limited or non-English Chinese speakers. In short, the Chinese in America represent a changing and complex ethnic group whose learning styles, motivation, aspirations, and accomplishments are not easy to stereotype and are not yet completely illuminated.

FOOTNOTE

[1] Information on the national support network for bilingual education can be obtained by calling National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education at (800) 336-4560 (toll free) or write to 1300 Wilson Boulevard, Suite B2-11, Rosslyn, VA 22209.

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THE FUTURE OF KOREAN AMERICAN CHILDREN AND YOUTH: MARGINALITY, BICULTURALITY, AND THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOL

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Some years ago, my five-year old son came home from school, shortly after entering kindergarten in a predominantly white neighborhood, and asked me "What am I? Am I a Korean or an American?" Trying to be a good mother, I told him that he was a Korean-American -- he was born in the United States of Korean parents, and had rich heritages from two cultures. This did not comfort my son, nor did he seem to feel enlightened by the knowledge of his bicultural background. Instead, he protested, "If I am a Korean, why can't I speak Korean like you do? And if I'm an American, how come I don't look like the American kids in my class?" He paused for a moment and then delivered the final blow: "Besides, they call me Chinese!"

He was not only bewildered and frustrated, but angry over his muddled identity as a Korean American. The Korean and American parts of him seemed to be opposite poles, and a Korean American identity that would somehow unite them seemed hopelessly elusive. It did not make sense to him that I was urging him to be proud of his bicultural heritage when he clearly

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perceived that he was in some ways different from both his parents and his classmates.

My son is not alone in wondering about his bicultural identity as he moves back and forth between the rather different worlds of his school and his home. At present there are an estimated 80,000 Korean ancestry children in American schools. About 80% of them are immigrant children who came to the United States in the past decade[1]. And it is probably too early to tell definitively what sort of adaptation they will ultimately make. Some will surely develop a rich bicultural identity, selecting and integrating the heritages and strengths of two cultures, while others will probably fall into a state of marginality, feeling that they belong to neither culture and hence have no cultural identity to call their own.

This paper will discuss various educational needs and issues of Korean American children and youth within the context of the rapidly evolving Korean American community in the United States. First, the immigration history and demographic characteristics of the Korean American group will be presented, followed by a discussion of the educational needs and problems of Korean American children, presented in terms of the match between existing educational programs and their needs. Then parent and community attitudes toward and involvement in the education of these children will be explored, using data from a study conducted by the author.

I. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF KOREAN AMERICANS

At present about 370,000 Korean immigrants and native-born Korean Americans live in the United States.[2] This number represents a vast increase over 1970, when the Census reported a total of 70,510 Korean Americans. With such growth, the present population may be greatly different in some ways from that in 1970. However, survey data taken since then, and some other information taken from the 1970 census, allow us to make some generalizations about the Korean-American population that are pertinent to this discussion.

Of the Korean Americans enumerated in 1970, only 44% (about 31,000) were of native birth; in turn, 60% of the American-born persons of Korean ancestry (about 18,600) were under 19 years of age. These persons presumably represent native-born children of immigrant parents. Likewise, survey research by Kim and others[3] has found most Korean immigrants to be relatively young couples with young children. This suggests that the Korean-Americans as a group may be particularly susceptible to any sort of problem that may arise between immigrant parents and children - either native or non-native born - who are attending and being acculturated by American public schools.

Although the majority of the present Korean American population is composed of fairly recent arrivals who benefitted from the 1965 Immigrant and Naturalization Act Amendment,[4] the first Korean immigrants came to the United States between 1903 and 1905. Spurred by political and socioeconomic instability and encouraged by their government, some 7,226 Korean (6,048 men, 637 women, and 541 children) emigrated to work on Hawaiian plantations during those years. The immigrants were mostly poor farmers, and nearly half were converted Christians.[5] In 1905 the Korean government prohibited all further emigration upon learning of the harsh working conditions of Koreans in Hawaii. Consequently, only a limited number of "picture brides" were allowed to emigrate until the late twenties. A few Korean students and visitors who considered themselves political exiles also were admitted to the United States. From there they worked to free Korea from Japanese domination and to regain national independence. Upon the liberation of Korea by the allied forces after World War II, a sizable number of these former students and political exiles returned to Korea. Notable among the returnees was Sung Man Rhee the first elected president of the Republic of Korea.

It was not until in the late fifties that a significant number of Koreans emigrated to the United States. Because of the discriminatory U.S. Immigration and Nationality Law,[6] the number of immigrants of Korean nationality was miniscule. For instance, in 1950, only ten were admitted as immigrants. By 1965, the quota had grown to 103 persons, but actual immigration totalled 9,108 per year. Thus the vast majority of Koreans immigrating to the United States prior to 1965 were persons exempt from the quotas -- "war orphans" or "war brides" who came to the United States through adoption or marriage to American citizens. This form of immigration was a direct result of U.S. involvement in the Korean Conflict.

The annual number of immigrants to the United States from Korea has increased steadily and dramatically since the present immigration ceiling of 20,000 replaced the 103 quota limitation in 1968. In the past three years, the number of Korean immigrants including both quota and non-quota persons, has averaged 31,000 per year. In part, this heavy immigration reflects a situation common in many developing nations; the educational system has produced more educated and trained individuals than can be absorbed by the economic system.

Geographic Location

The 1970 census indicated that Korean Americans were more widely dispersed among all regions of the United States than any other Asian American group. The largest number, 44%, lived in the western states such as California and Hawaii. Of the remainder, 20% lived in the northeastern states, 19% in the north central region, and 17% in the southern region.[7]

The annual reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service through 1977 suggest that this pattern of scattered settlement continues, although there has been secondary migration into such large metropolitan areas as Los Angeles, Chicago, New York City, the District of Columbia, San Francisco, and Honolulu.

Sex and Age Distribution

The median age of Korean Americans in 1970 was 26 years, and slightly over one-third were 18 years and under. Of the total number of Korean immigrants (121,807) arriving between 1970 and 1975, more than half were between 20 and 30 years of age. Nationally, only three percent of the Korean group is made up of older persons.

Unlike other Asian American groups, the sex ratio of Korean Americans has favored females during the last two and a half decades, primarily due to the immigration of young female children adopted transracially by American parents and young interracially-married Korean women. While a trend toward a more balanced sex ratio is evident among the recent immigrants, there were still twice as many females as males admitted to the United States between 1970 and 1977. The imbalance is even more pronounced among immigrants in two age groups: of the children under age five, 63% are females, while women represent 82% of the 20-29 age group.[8]

Educational Attainment

In 1970, more than one third (36.3%) of the Korean Americans had completed four or more years of college education, compared to 11.3% of the total U.S. population. Fully 71% of Korean Americans had completed high school and fewer than 20% of the adult population had less than an eighth grade education. There is much collaborative statistical evidence from several studies which show even higher education achievement among recent immigrants.[9]

Employment, Income, and Household Size

The 1970 census statistics on employment and income characteristics of the Korean American population are extremely sketchy and outdated. For instance, the 1970 census reported that 75.5% of Korean American males and 41.5% of females over 16 years old were gainfully employed. Studies of the Korean immigrants by Kim and Condon in 1974 and by Kim, Sawdey, and Meihoefer in 1978-1979 in Chicago and Los Angeles showed a much higher percentage of labor force participation for both men (90%) and women (69%).[10] Unfortunately, accurate and reliable statistics on the employment, occupational status, and income levels of the Korean American population are not currently available, and we must wait for the tabulation of the 1980 census. In the absence of any meaningful and reliable data, general observation of these variables will be offered.

In spite of their high educational achievement, a majority of the Korean immigrants are employed at middle level jobs such as proprietors, and skilled and semi-skilled jobs.[11] In the Korean American community, there is a consensus that many immigrants suffer from underemployment. Persons with college degrees working as filling station attendants of seamstresses in garment factories are not uncommon. The 1974 and 1978-1979 studies by Kim and others explored this subject by asking the subjective views of the respondents and by comparing their educational and occupational levels in Korea with their present occupations. Downward mobility of those who held jobs prior to immigration could be clearly established.[12]

Occupation and income levels are often closely related. They affect our life choices and ultimately affect how we feel about ourselves. Income data reported in 1970 census is outdated because the majority of the Korean Americans in the United States in 1981 were not even in the United States to be counted in 1970.

Data from the studies of Kim and others suggest that few Korean-American families are living below the poverty level, but that in most families both parents are working full-time outside the home. The combined family income figures may thus conceal the substandard earnings of two wage earners.

The important consideration affecting the educational needs of

Korean-American children is that in most cases both parents are absent from the home for some part of the day. Child care arrangements are problematic. Often informal child care arrangements are made with neighbors, or parents work in shifts to take care of their children. The responsibilities for the care and supervision of children fall to the parent who works the night shift.

Language Use and English Proficiency Level

These are extremely important variables which affect all aspects of the adjustment and occupational and economic success of Korean immigrants in the United States. According to the July 1975 Language Survey,[13] 95% of the Korean American respondents claim Korean to be their mother tongue. Further, 55% of them used it as their major medium of communication. Kim and others' 1978-1979 study in Los Angeles and Chicago indicates even more extensive usage of Korean among the family members: over three-quarters of all spousal communication was exclusively in Korean and only a slightly smaller proportion of the parent-child communication was in Korean. Even within those families where English was used, the major portion of all communication was in Korean. However, as they lengthen their stay in the United States, selective use of English between parents and children occurs more frequently, but spousal communication remains almost exclusively in Korean. There is a positive relationship between the educational level of the parents and the use of English at home, i.e., the higher the educational level of the parents, the more English was used at home in combination with Korean.[14]

In this connection, it is important to note a strong tendency for Korean Americans to prefer extensive, or even exclusive, use of the Korean language when speaking to other Koreans. One major reason that most Koreans prefer to continue to use Korean with other ethnic persons is that the Korean language is well equipped to express vertical hierarchical social relationships. It is important to most Koreans to maintain these role relationships, particularly within the structure of the family. Since Korean Americans tend to retain extensive use of Korean, the English fluency of this group may increase at a relatively slow rate among the adult population unless outside sources of English instruction and other incentives are provided.

Religious Preferences

Korean immigrants are predominantly Christian, with 60% being Protestant and 10% to 15% Catholic; less than 10% are Buddhist. It has been noted by many community leaders and in many studies that the roles of religious institutions in Korean American communities go beyond the spiritual and religious ones.[15] These institutions provide social and emotional support and informal help, and they directly and indirectly serve as acculturation agents at the same time that they help preserve traditional values and heritage.

II. SUMMARY: PROFILE OF KOREAN AMERICANS AS A GROUP

To summarize, the demographic profile of Korean Americans indicates that they are not a particularly large group, although their numbers are increasing steadily as a result of immigration. In general, Korean Americans are well educated, tend to be underemployed, have arrived in the United States in the last ten years, and culturally are still predominantly Korean -- particularly with regard to language preference.

As a group, Korean Americans display qualities of hard work, rugged individualism, adaptability, self-confidence, and strong faith in the American dream of unlimited opportunity for all. This is not to say that Korean Americans are without problems: they have problems and they are very real, but those problems and their consequences have to do with mental health, pursuit of happiness, and achievement of full human potential, rather than with absolute socioeconomic survival. Observers who have spent much time in Korean American communities have little trouble identifying these problem areas in a general way:

1. Underemployment, with consequent frustration and loss of sense of worth. This frustration and loss may lead to parenting problems,

since the parent feels inadequate in the role of breadwinner and model for the children.

2. Parent-child conflicts based on language and culture. The children frequently expand their knowledge and use of English faster than the parents. As a result, the children become impatient with the parents, and the parents feel they have lost control in the family relationship.

3. Breakdown of the traditional three-generation Korean family. No longer can the clearly defined roles and expectations in the traditional family be counted on as a source of strength in difficult and stressful times: the elderly feel lost and useless, parents no longer feel in a position of authority and sense that they are ineffective as role models, and children feel the loss of firm family expectations, but have no alternative system of guidance to replace them.

4. A "lost generation" of teenage immigrants. These are individuals, who have failed to achieve positive self-identity from either Korean or American culture.

5. A desire for biculturality, but no real sense of how to achieve it, or what problem it entails. In an age of cultural pluralism, this is a new area for both the minority and majority cultures to explore.

6. Conflicting and unrealistic expectation of one's children. The desire

to preserve aspects of Korean culture often puts pressure on Korean-American children to behave in ways that are dysfunctional, especially if children are to satisfy other parental pressures toward academic success and economic mainstreaming.

7. *Major role shifts within the Korean family.* In an economic situation where both parents must work, and where there is increasing pressure from the children to communicate in English, family roles may shift rapidly and in ways that puzzle and frustrate the participants.

8. *Domestic violence such as child abuse and wife beatings.* These difficulties are symptomatic both of the frustration facing Korean-American immigrants and of loss of direction arising from the breakdown of the traditional family structure and a shift in role expectations.

These problems are compounded by all the usual stresses suffered by a visible minority immigrant group attempting to adapt to life in a new and radically different cultural setting. These conditions also affect the educational adjustment and achievement of the Korean American child in the American public school.

III. EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF KOREAN AMERICAN CHILDREN AND YOUTH

It is extremely difficult to estimate the exact numbers of the percentage of school age children of Korean ancestry in American schools, although current estimates are about 80,000.[16] Whatever the exact numbers, the Korean American children in public schools are comprised of both American-born and foreign-born students, of which the majority are foreign-born. Our discussion of the educational needs and problems of the Korean-American students recognizes the different educational needs of these two types of Korean American children.

American-Born Korean American

Educational issues for American-born children center around their needs to develop a positive bicultural identity amid the contrary forces of the parents and American schools. It is safe to assume that these children have been exposed to both English and Korean at home, but that Korean predominates. Therefore, special instruction in English may be needed. Their home environment, no matter how well acculturated the the parents may be, will be primarily Korean. The family meals, cultural values and behavioral expectations and norms governing family interactions are more likely to be Korean, as will be the medium of communication.

Korean American parents strongly desire and expect their children to show certain traditional Korean values and behavior traits at school: obedience, repectful deference to adults, and a generally passive stance toward the learning experience. In practice, this may mean that the child does not receive sufficient attention in the American classroom, where children are expected to ask questions, speak out, and generally initiate much more communication with the teacher. This may lead to further problems between parent and child, since the parent has very high expectations for the child's academic achievement. More conflicts may arise later, because the parents have a narrow range of career expectations for their children, almost all of them highly professional: physician, lawyer, and engineer. A child who becomes acculturated to the American ideal of self-determination in career choices may be in for a head-on conflict.

At present there are no role models or well tested paths to developing a healthy bicultural identity for Korean American school age children and youth. The Korean American community will have to develop a system of choices and compromises between the two cultures. In turn, this system of choice and compromise may have direct consequences for the well-being of the individual (mainly with respect to the sense of marginality it engenders).[17] It also may have an important impact on the relationship of parent and child, both in terms of intergenerational conflict and reduced parenting effectiveness, because of the parents' own difficulties in clarifying cultural choices and compromises.

It may not be sufficient, however, to consider the intergenerational conflicts and parenting problems of Korean Americans solely in terms of parent-child relationship. The pertinent relationships may very well be the triadic one formed by the parent, the child and the child's public school environment.[18]

Korean-born (or foreign-born) Children and Youth

The overriding educational needs of these children and youth is an effective bilingual program which promotes rapid acquisition of English while simultaneously maintaining the home language. Such a program facilitates the learning of grade-appropriate subject materials through both English and the home language. In this connection, the age of the foreign-born Korean student is an important consideration because it affects their educational needs and suggests an appropriate educational approach. For instance, the ease of second-language acquisition and the amount of subject materials to be mastered vary according to grade level. It has been observed that the younger the child, the easier it is for him or her to adapt and achieve grade level learning.

The problems of foreign-born Korean students who are of junior and senior high school age are serious. Problems arise from many sources: some of them are age related and others are associated with the immigration process, but the most powerful source of stress is the American public school, its milieu (peer groups and school personnel), and its curriculum. Let us examine these problems more closely.

First, puberty and adolescence is a difficult age in any culture and society. This is the period when exploration of identity and psychological independence from parents begin. Peer relationships and peer support are critical to achieving positive self-identity. Korean youth who immigrate to the United States leave behind these important relationships, which could provide them with a patterned way of dealing with many adolescent conflicts and problems. They come into a totally new culture and society without adequate English preparation to achieve a culturally congruent personal identity. In the American public schools they are exposed to overt expressions of aggressions and sexuality that, for the most part, were held in abeyance in their home country. Peer relationships, particularly heterosexual relationships, pose serious emotional and social challenges for these youth. They simply do not know how to behave or handle themselves in such relationships.

Their behavior toward adults or persons in authority positions also pose problems, particularly in a school setting. Their quiet, respectful behavior in the classroom is often regarded as showing a lack of initiative or, even worse, it is interpreted as a sign of ignorance or failure to comprehend the subject matter. If the Korean American youth adapt to the school's expectations, then their newly learned behavior of assertiveness from school gets them into severe conflicts with their parents who still expect obedience and respect from their children. Parents who are undergoing culture shock themselves feel offended and hurt by the "Americanized" behavior of their offspring. The fact that most of these young people survive such problems without serious emotional breakdown is a miracle.

Because Korean parents and children alike value academic learning and high achievement, any academic difficulty or failure, regardless of its cause, results in extreme discouragement and depression. The suffering of Korean American youth in their first year in American public school is often heartbreaking. Both academic help and educational counseling are needed for these youth and their parents to help them develop realistic educational expectations and goals for the first few years in America. Further, support and reassurance must be provided: children will achieve desired academic success within a reasonable time, but not in the first month or year. Perhaps in this connection it is important to mention that Kim and others found in their 1978-1979 study that a majority of the Korean parents were satisfied with the American schools, but they wanted them to be more academically rigorous.

According to several bilingual teachers in the Los Angeles and Chicago schools, the most pressing needs of this age group are for grade-appropriate Korean-language teaching materials. Existing English as Second Language (ESL) materials are geared for lower grade students, and are therefore unsuitable for teenagers, even though their English level may be low. In this connection, careful study and comparison of the curricula and teaching methods used in the Korean and American educational systems should be made when developing teaching materials for this age group. While some subject areas such as mathematics can be taught with English textbooks with some translation effort, and music and art can be taught with Korean textbooks, other subjects like social studies and American history need extensive translation of the English textbooks into Korean. Many bilingual teachers spend their personal time and money to develop teaching materials to compensate for this lack.

In order to deal with the lowered self-esteem, anxiety, depression, and anger of Korean American youth, individual and group counseling and educational guidance are sorely needed, particularly for children in the upper grades. It may be needless to mention that the counselors should be bilingual and bicultural Korean American professionals who are familiar with the problems.

IV. PARENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD AND INVOLVEMENT WITH CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

Kim and others' 1978-1979 study clearly indicates that the parents in the study are both concerned about and involved with their children's school experience. They have high expectations and standards for their children, and they support them by taking an active interest in their children's progress, by keeping close track of their children's performance, and, often, by tutoring their children at home to aid them in their schoolwork.

The overall communication between parent and child appears to be working well at this time. For the most part, the parents are communicating their expectations of and their satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with their children clearly, and, in turn, the children are clearly communicating their perception of the school experience to their parents. Thus there appears to be no serious estrangement between parent and child, and, in turn, both parents and children have generally positive feelings about the public school.

However, there are some areas of difficulty. The parents have a sense that they are underemployed and/or underpaid and, more generally, that they are encountering some difficulties in gaining success and acceptance in America because of their Korean ethnicity. This tends to intensify the parents' feeling that it is very important for their children to learn English and adapt to the American majority culture so that their children may be assured of the success and acceptance that has been difficult for the parents themselves to attain.

This parental pressure may have serious consequences because the parents also strongly want their children to retain many Korean cultural traits, including extensive use of the Korean language for intra-ethnic communication. In many cases, the parents are not consciously aware of this incipient conflict, thus exacerbating it when it does occur. It is apparent that in most cases the achievement of biculturality has to be managed through conscious choice; it will not come about on its own. For example, some parents experience anxiety when they stress Korean culture or the use of Korean in the home because they have a sense that this may impair their children's acquisition of English, which is also very important to the parents. It will take conscious effort and some guidance from persons who have already undergone bicultural adaptation in order for the parents to come to terms with the choices they must make and the integration they must accomplish between the two cultures.

V. NEEDS OF TEACHERS OF KOREAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

Kim and others' 1978-1979 study found that different teachers have greatly varying levels of sensitivity to the problems of the foreign-born Korean American child. In general, however, the teachers had positive feelings toward Korean American children: they were seen as causing no trouble, as pliable, and as highly motivated to learn. Also, the teachers took a good deal of pride in the progress made by most Korean American children in mastering English. Finally, the teachers perceived nearly all the Korean American parents as positive, concerned, and involved in their children's school experience.

On the negative side of the balance, many teachers felt they lacked sufficient information about the children's cultural background. One potentially severe problem area was uncovered in the study of the teachers: the teachers' highly favorable opinion of Korean American children was due, in part, to comparing them with other minority children. At most of the schools in the study, many of the students who were not Korean were members of other minority groups, primarily black and Hispanic. The study questionnaire was not designed to explore these comparative judgments, but it was clear from the teachers' responses that they often viewed the Korean American children in a favorable light because they did not exhibit the learning and behavioral problems which they felt were common to the other minority children in the schools.

There are two potential dangers in this attitude. First, the Korean American children may begin to sense that they are being praised at the expense of other minority children. The result may be that the Korean American children may come to look down on other minorities. Second, the Korean American children may acquire a false sense of their own capabilities and of the ease with which they are accepted by the majority culture. They may be in for a severe shock when they later attempt to compete on equal terms with the majority society either at college or in the business and professional world.

Overall, the study found the intentions of the teachers to be positive and their efforts sincere. However, they often had difficulty in translating goodwill into effective action in the form of classroom programs that could be of real assistance to Korean American children. Rarely had teachers developed any specific programs for the Korean American children in their classes; still more rarely had any use been made of parents or other ethnic community resources in the classroom.

VI. POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Now that I have outlined the demographic characteristics and educational needs and problems of Korean American children and youth, a philosophical question can be asked: what will be the future development of the Korean American community and its people, particularly its children and youth?

As I noted earlier, there is no way to predict exactly what sort of cultural adaptation will finally be achieved by the new Korean immigrants in America, but one can outline the possibilities open to them. Being a visible minority, one option that is not open to Korean Americans is that of "passing for white", of totally submerging their ethnic distinctness and becoming unnoticeable in American society. An alternative that is open to them would be withdrawal into an ethnic enclave where they could preserve an hermetic version of their ethnic culture. This seems unlikely even at this early date: Korean Americans appear generally to opt for economic mainstreaming and, often, the upward-mobile move to the suburbs. Eliminating these possibilities leave Korean Americans with two likely alternatives: marginality and biculturality. In short, will most Korean Americans fall between two cultures, ending up with no compelling ties to either, or will they succeed in developing a strong and viable biculturality, drawing upon and integrating the most positive aspects of both Korean and American culture?

Kim and others' 1978-1979 study found that there is a strong foundation upon which Korean Americans could develop a dynamic biculturality. There was much implicit cultural ambivalence on the part of the parents, but also a strong awareness of the importance of cultural influences on their parenting role and an intense desire to help their children to a successful future in America. The children proved to be bright, hard working, and usually successful in their mastery of the new environment. Finally, the public schools were found to be receptive to innovative thinking in the area of cultural adaptation. Overall, there are many positive resources for the development of Korean American biculturality, and there are no insurmountable negative forces present.

This is not to say that a healthy biculturality will develop automatically, on its own, from these resources. The studies of Kim and others also show many potential areas of conflict. Rarely do the actors understand the positive steps that they must take to bring about a healthy resolution of differences: parents often are unaware that they must make conscious cultural choices; children sometimes cannot grasp the viable cultural alternatives offered to them by their parents; and public school personnel often do not realize the powerful part played by the children's school experience in influencing--or forcing--cultural choices. The cultural future of Korean Americans has much to build on, many positive forces that could be harnessed to achieve true biculturality. We must note, however, that there is much urgency in the situation: if Korean Americans are not helped to take advantage of their resources for biculturality then this may be an opportunity forever lost. A generation from now it may be difficult, if not impossible, for this group to backtrack and attempt to retrieve a cultural heritage that could today be incorporated as a living component of a healthy biculturality.

FOOTNOTES

1. This is a conservative estimate, derived by applying the proportion of school age children in the Korean-American population reported in the 1970 census to the probable present Korean-American population. That this figure is probably fairly accurate is indicated by the results of the 1976 Survey of Income and Education which estimated that there were at that time 31,000 Korean-language background children aged 6 - 18. See National Center for Educational Statistics, Bulletin 78B-5, August 22, 1978, Table 1b.

2. This estimate is derived from using 1970 census figures, the numbers of immigrants admitted to the United States, the numbers of those who had adjusted their status to immigrants as reported by Immigration and Naturalization Service in its annual report, and the natural growth by birth.

3. Bok-Lim C. Kim. *The Asian Americans: Changing Patterns, Changing Needs,* AKCS, N.J. 1978. Bok-Lim C. Kim, Michael Sawdey, Barbara Meihoeffer, *The Korean American Child at School and at Home, an Analysis of Interaction and Intervention through Groups*, Project Report, 1980.

4. Public Law 89 236, October 1965, abolished the long standing inequitable quota system which discriminated against immigrants from Asia.

5. Bernice B.H. Kim, "The Koreans in Hawaii," *Social Science* 9:4 (October 1934):410.

6. For documentation of legal discrimination, read Chin Kim and Bok-Lim C. Kim, "Asian Immigrants in American Law: A Look at the Past and the Challenge Which Remains," *American University Law Review* 26 (1977).

7. For instance in 1959, the year when the Immigration and Naturalization Service began to diseggregate Korean immigrants by age and sex, one third of the total immigrants (1,717) were children under four years of age and additional 12.6% was under 9 years of age. 26.5% of the female immigrants between the ages of 20-29 clearly represent intermarried Korean women.

8. Bok-Lim C. Kim, "An Emerging Immigrant Community, Korean Americans" *Civil Rights Digest*, (1976): 40.

9. Ki-Taek Chun, "The Myth of Asian American Success and its Educational Ramifications," *IRCD Bulletin*, Publication of the Institute for Urban and Minority Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 15:1 & 2 (Winter/Spring 1980); Bok-Lim C. Kim and M. Condon, *A Study of Asian Americans in Chicago: Their Socioeconomic Characteristics, Problems and Service Needs*, Final Report to NIMH; Kim, Sawdey, Meihoefer, *The Korean American Child at School, and at Home, an Analysis of Interaction and Intervention through Groups.*

10. *Ibid*. Kim, Sawdey, Meihoefer, p. 28, Tables II-10 and II-11; p. 57 Tables III-7 and III-8.

11. *Ibid*. pp. 58-59.

12. Kim. *The Asian Americans: Changing Patterns, Changing Needs.* pp. 185-186.

13. Current Population Reports Special Studies, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Series P-23 No. 60 (Revised) July 1976.

14. Kim, Sawdey, Meihoefer, pp. 29 and 60.

15. Hyung-Chan Kim, "The History and Role of the Church in the Korean American Community" *Korean Journal*

16. See footnote 1.

17. D.W. Sue, "Ethnic Identity: The Impact of Two Cultures on the Psychological Development of Asians in America," In S. Sue and N. Wagner (eds.) *Asian Americans Psychological Perspectives*, Palo

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES AFFECTING THE EDUCATION OF MINORITY GROUPS: THE CASE OF FILIPINO AMERICANS

by

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Filipino Americans comprise the largest hyphenated American group of Asian origin today. The growth of this community was initially linked to the unskilled labor needs of Hawaii and the West Coast during the early twentieth century, but with the marked changes in the American economy and society through two world wars and one major depression, immigration policy altered the size and composition of the local Filipino population.

The surge in the entry of professionals from the Philippines after the 1965 liberalization of immigration laws inevitably led to today's heterogeneous Filipino American community, one that is quite divergent in many respects, not the least of which concerns education. Thus this ethnic group appears like a detail from the larger American mosaic -- as colorful and complex as the whole -- suggesting that education practitioners may have to adopt several perspectives when they are involved with students, faculty, or staff from this burgeoning community.

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This paper attempts to summarize the most salient socio-economic issues pertaining to the education of Filipino Americans, given the diversity within the community itself. The first section briefly reviews the growth of this ethnic group through the 1970s and the experience of the so-called first wave of immigrants. Then the social demography of the second wave is examined, focusing on characteristics of professionals who have increasingly accounted for the post-1965 influx. Major education-related issued are thereafter discussed; highlighted are the debate on the cultural-deficit theory that purportedly explains Filipino American attitudes towards education, the social indicators of equity in education for 1960, 1970 and 1976, and the differences in native-versus foreign-born students. Finally, the future educational needs of the community are presented and suggestions for a deeper understanding of Filipino American students are made.

I. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Filipinos first came to the Americas by way of the colonial route, surprisingly not through the U.S. but the Spanish imperial domain; Spain ceded the Philippines to the U.S. by the 1898 Treaty of Paris ending the Spanish-American War but before this there was an active trade between the Philippines and Mexico. Thus, the earliest Filipinos in the U.S. were sailors of the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade who jumped ship because of the brutish treatment they received from the Spaniards, crossed the Gulf of Mexico, and settled in Louisiana in the mid-eighteenth century (Espina). By the turn of the twentieth century, there were some 2,000 Filipinos in the New Orleans area but they were not separately identified in the Bureau of Census counts because of definitional restrictions on immigrant populations.

The colonial status of the Philippines explains the origin of two types of immigrants who are to this day more visible as expatriate communities by the very nature of their employment. In 1907, some 150 Filipinos were recruited to work in Hawaiian sugar plantations; their numbers easily rose to the thousands as other sources of cheap labor were no longer accessible because of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the 1907 U.S. immigration law that barred recruitment from Portugal, Spain, and Puerto Rico, and the 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan (Alcantara). There were around 19,000 Filipinos recruited by the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) by 1915, another 14,000 in the next five years, and some 39,000 in the two succeeding five-year periods. Altogether the HSPA recruited around 126,000 Filipinos between 1907 and 1946. (Clifford).

Even before the time that cheap, unskilled farm labor were being recruited by the HSPA, Filipino seamen started to appear as stewards in the U.S. Navy, not only to escape rural poverty but also to enter adventurous lives abroad. In 1903, there were nine of them listed in this rank. By 1905, it rose to 178; the number reached 2,000 by 1917 and stabilized at around 4,000 after World War I (Quinsaat). A third group of potential immigrants, young scholars sent to the U.S. for further studies, -- some 103 "pensionados" (pensioned students) in 1903 alone -- did not materialize as they returned home after completing their programs.

Census data show that the Filipino population in the U.S. grew from 21,000 in 1920 to 108,000 in 1930. Through 1934, most migrants were dominantly young, single, unskilled males employed typically as farm laborers not only in Hawaii but also in California and Washington, or as domestics/personal service workers (bellboys, busboys, dishwashers), or as salmon cannery laborers in Alaska. Recruitment practices led to an imbalance in sex ratios (which for example averaged 12 men per Filipino woman between 1909 and 1934) as men with rural backgrounds and low education were preferred over others (Aquino, 1978); this explains why 1970 Census statistics show the median years of schooling completed by Filipino males 65 years and over is only 5.4 years, and why many of them never married -- 83% of Filipino primary individuals in Hawaii and 90% in rural U.S. were 45 years or over in 1970 (Urban Associates, 1974). This recruitment strategy also explains the pivotal role of taxi dance halls in the lives of many male immigrants and possibly in anti-Filipino race riots (Bogardus, 1930).

By 1940, the Filipino population dipped to 98,000. In the mainland (70% in California), Smith (1976) reports the median years of schooling was 7.4 while 7.7% of the age group 25 years and over had some college education, statistics attributable to the fact that the immigrants came from the same pool as in the earlier decades. In contrast, Allen (1977) reports similar data for 1970 to be 13.5 median years of schooling and 43.2% of age 25 years and over with some college education for mainland Filipinos (56% in California).

These dramatic changes were brought about by a curtailed immigration policy through nationality quotas between 1934 and 1965 and a liberalized 1965 act which enabled Filipinos with particular skills to enter the U.S. on a basis other than family reunion. While national origins quotas were effected in 1924, it was only by 1934, with the passage of the Philippine Independence Act, that Filipino migration to the U.S. was curtailed to 50 persons per year. The 1924 quota policy imposed limits on Latin and Slavic immigrants and barred the inflow of anyone from the Asiatic races except Filipinos who were technically classified as U.S. nationals. Not unexpectedly, exclusion sentiments against Filipinos ran high and their non-citizen status precluded them from enjoying more than the most fundamental rights. Described as "neither fish nor fowl" (Melendy, 1967: 41), Filipinos were victimized by vigilante groups fearful of the economic and social competition fostered by the presence of non-whites injecting "mongrel" strains into the country. On top of these were various forms of institutional discrimination, e.g., anti-miscegenation laws, exclusion from Federal relief projects during the depression, police harassment, segregation practices in public places as well as in real estate and housing, etc.

Not until after World War II was the annual Philippine quota of

50 immigrants raised to 100. Filipinos who fought with Americans during this war qualified as nonquota immigrants under the amendment of the Nationality Act dated March 27, 1942, providing for the expeditious nationalization of all aliens in the service of the U.S. Armed Forces. However, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, in a letter to the Attorney General dated September 13, 1945, deliberately excluded Filipinos from this provision despite their gallant service under the American flag during World War II, the only nationality to be so discriminated. This policy reversal has yet to be rectified.

The accelerated growth of the Filipino community in the U.S. after World War II can best be visualized from Figure I taken from Allen (1977). By 1950, native-born Filipino Americans (36% of those in the mainland vs. 0.9% in 1940) helped raise the population figure to 123,000 to 182,000 by 1960, and to 336,000 by 1970. The 1976 Survey of Income and Education reported 554,000 Filipinos in the U.S., 34% of whom were native-born. Preliminary 1980 Census data reveal some 750,000 Filipinos in the U.S. (NAAPAE Newsletter), a quarter of a million shy of the projections by Owan (1975) but still consistent with the overall conclusion that this community would have outnumbered both the Chinese and Japanese communities in the U.S. by the census date. (See figure I.)

The demand for educational resources will therefore increase significantly in this decade particularly for language reasons (see Table I discussed further below) and will become prominent in certain standard metropolitan statistical areas as families reunite and cluster in Filipino neighborhoods (see Figure II). Although most post-1965 immigrants have settled in other parts of the country, the West still accounted in 1974 for over 70% of Filipinos across the U.S., largely in California, Hawaii, and Washington (Ningas-Cogon 1976); Illinois, New York, Virginia, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland are the other major areas of concentration, chiefly in urban centers. (See Figure II.)

The invisibility of the Filipino community due to "weakly nucleated settlement patterns (contrasting) with the racial segregation of the pre-World War II period in West Coast cities" (Allen, p. 201) is fast turning into fiction; a cursory investigation of regional and town associations reported in Filipino American newspapers would show this especially in urban areas in California. It can be safely conjectured that compared to 1970, there will be more tracts in the 1980 census with over 10% Filipinos.

II. SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHY

The Immigration Act of 1965 which became fully effective in 1968 created several categories of preference systems under which new migrants could come into the U.S. Annual reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner reveal that over 40% of yearly Filipino immigrants enter under the first, second, fourth and fifth preference categories which reunite families; the remainder come in largely under the third and sixth preferences granted for occupational reasons.

Concerning the latter types of immigrants, and professionals in the former categories too, many researchers have come up with alternative explanations about the factors behind the decision to migrate (summarized in Card, 1979): environmental factors such as the political/economic environment and manpower needs of the Philippines and the U.S.; demographic factors such as occupation, sex, college course taken, college attended, employer, source of support for U.S. study, citizenship of spouse; and socio-psychological factors such as career salience, need for achievement, personal values, and ties to the Philippines or the U.S. A National Science Foundation survey on immigrant engineers and scientists from the Philippines (1974) indicate that this brain drain is largely attributable to pull factors like better opportunities for children and higher standards of living, and such push factors as too low salary, insufficient research opportunities, and poor advancement prospects in the Philippines. The political environment was also among the most frequently rated "very important" factors explaining migration.

The post-1965 Filipino migration constitutes part of a "second wave" that is quite distinct from the low socioeconomic origin, agricultural migrants of the early decades of this century; most of the latter could really be thought of as sojourners who "had hoped naively to accumulate large earnings, acquire an education, and then return home" (Almirol, 1980: 6). Professionals constituted less than 2% in 1940 and 1950 of all Filipinos in the U.S. but the immigration in the 1960s changed this picture dramatically: 48% of 1961-65 destined to the labor force were professionals, rising to 60% in 1966-68 and 69% by 1969-72 (Boyd, 1974); similar data for 1973-75 show a drop in the professionals percentage share to 58% but an increase in white collar to 17% from the 10% in 1969-72 (Annual Reports of the INS).

The impact of the newer wave of migrants on the 1970 national percentage of Filipino men who have complete college (15%) can be seen also when this is compared with the U.S. avereage for men (13%) and when contrasted with the relatively larger number of older uneducated Filipinos in the population. Between 1960 and 1970, Filipino male professionals tripled. Filipino women have among the highest high school completion rates (64%) and college degrees (27%) among women in any population group and are similarly more represented in the labor force (55% compared to 36% a decade earlier); more committed to careers -- 32% of them were classified as professionals in 1970 -- than earlier arrivals who are fairly settled, the second wave women have lower fertility rates.

This new wave of migration has nevertheless led to Filipino families with younger children at a far higher rate than others in the population. Between 1968-1976, when Filipinos increased their share of total immigration to the U.S. from below 4% to above 9%, one out of typically three or four immigrants every year was aged 19 years or below and between 11%-20% was among 9 years old or less (Macaranas, 1978a). The geographical distribution of the first and second waves naturally extend themselves to the scatter of school-age Filipinos across the country but socio-economic factors conspire against inter-regional uniformity in the percentage enrollment for various age groups. In 1970, for example, the South had lower than the national Filipino American average enrollment in all age groups except for females in the

14-17 age bracket; compared to all Filipinos in the U.S., this region had a lower median or mean income for families and also lower income per person and a greater percentage of all persons with income less than poverty level.

III. EDUCATION ISSUES

1. Cultural Deficit Theory

Two age groups present disturbing under-enrollment statistics. In 1970, the 14.5% enrollment rate of Filipinos between 3-4 years old, though above the U.S. average, was much lower than that of the Chinese and Japanese communities (23.9% and 31.4% respectively) despite the higher labor participation rate of Filipino women compared to any other group; this has been interpreted as reflective of the need to open up more pre-school enrollment opportunities (Urban Associates, 1974), thus assuming the existence of a demand for this quality-enhancing preparation for further schooling. Likewise, college-aged (18-24 years old) enrollment of Filipino males (28%) and females (23%) were below the U.S. average rates (37% and 27% respectively) and even much lower than that of the Chinese (71% and 58%) and Japanese (56% and 48%) once again -- partly due to earlier entry into the labor force (Macaranas, 1978b: 8-10) and earlier marriage (Lott, 1974: 10; Chi, 1972; Ayupan and Howells, 1980).

These bring to fore the issue of the Filipino's alleged lack of experience with a traditional education system and the social organizations needed to support it (Lott, 1974, 1976; Flor, 1975). "Unlike other minority groups which have *inherent* conducive controls for education, there has been little support or mechanism for educational advancement in both the individual Phillippine American home and the Phillippine American community as a whole," asserts Lott (1974:10) (Emphasis added).

This cultural deficit argument runs counter to observations about the educational ambitions of the first wave Filipinos which, for example, Bogardus (cited in Melendy, 1976:37) found to be a major reason for positive opinions by Caucasians of Filipinos during the California racial riots in the 1920s, and which the literary pen of Carlos Bulosan, a peasant immigrant, deftly and sympathetically portrayed in his works (1946). It also appears inconsistent with the post-World War II literacy rate and college enrollment ratios in the Philippines which are among the highest in the world (World Bank, 1976:291) and which inevitably lead to the generally high educational attainment of the second-wave immigrants.

The absence of "inherent conducive controls for education" in the Filipino community may not be attributed to the lack of experience with a traditional education system. Macaranas (1978b), citing historical studies of education between the 16th and early 20th centuries, points out the fact that prior to the colonization of the Philippines, a formal education tradition was very much alive in the country; there were schools where children were taught reading, writing, arithmetic (including the decimal system), religion and incantation, and fencing for self-defense. Sanskrit was taught in the southern parts since it was the official language of Borneo with which trade was flourishing. It was the Spaniards who stunted higher learning for native Filipinos since most of the colleges and universities they established (the oldest antedates the founding of Harvard University) were reserved exclusively for the colonizers and their offspring. With the arrival of the Thomasites, American educators who came to democratize schooling in the Philippines in the early 20th century, three centuries of Spanish neglect was corrected (although the curriculum contents were more American than Filipino as critics rightly contend).

There are further pieces of evidence against the cultural deprivation thesis. Junasa (1961), in a study of Filipino youth in Waipahu, Hawaii, concludes that a greater fraction of those planning to continue their schooling after graduation from high school are from families of higher socio-economic background; this same conclusion was reached for the larger American society by Bowles and Gintis (1976). These studies suggest that deprivation is not cultural in origin but economic, unless one believes that poverty breeds a culture that is innately anti-education (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1975:26-31).

Junasa also finds that those youngsters who planned to further their studies have parents who expressed deep interest in the children's schooling by (a) keeping themselves informed of the progress of their children in school, (b) frequently encouraging their children to do better, and (c) expressing definite wishes to their children that they seek further schooling. To the extent that the parent's socio-economic status and their desire to have more educated children are predetermined by their own Philippine experience, the educational system in the Philippines may be considered an integral part of the economic problem of both waves of immigrants.

Less educated parents who have not broken the barriers to upward socio-economic mobility in the U.S. may not prod their siblings to pursue higher education. Even the more educated among these parents may fail to motivate their children because of the problems they have faced as immigrant professionals, e.g. discriminatory practices in the labor markets (Cabezas and Yee, 1977; Covey, 1977), licensing requirements (Almirol, 1980), failure to get jobs due to alleged overqualifications in experience or in education (see Table II, items 5 and 6), or poor quality education (Roxas, 1965), and even working in areas which their educational backgrounds do not fit (Li, 1980).

These match the point of Hune (1973:43) who argues that "by continuing to view Philipinos as victims of cultural deprivation, historians and social scientists have overlooked their relationship with the larger American context." Another study which reinforces this viewpoint (Macaranas, 1978b) suggests that education does not affect income levels of Filipino Americans in any statistically significant way for the community as a whole because of non-cultural factors; this fact is one more in stark contrast to the positive impact of schooling on the incomes of Chinese and Japanese communities in the U.S. (These differences are observed even after accounting for the separate impact on earnings of age, sex, and percentage of full-time workers in the ethnic group.) Such results can be explained in part by the differences in occupational achievements which intervene in the education-income link (Chi, 1972:121 reports the same findings using 1960 census data); fewer Filipinos are in the work category "professional, technical and kindred workers": why this is the case may be traced not only to the factors cited above but also to the length of the migration experience of the group (Chiswick, 1977; Mak and Fujii, 1981). This is definitely not cultural in character.

In support of the cultural deficit theory is the consumption view of education, i.e., schooling which is not designed for maximizing personal earnings or returns to schooling at a future date. Economists have observed that the Philippine higher educational system is highly oriented towards liberal arts than in the sciences needed for the economic development of the country. Profit-seeking private schools which enroll 95% of college students have been observed to offer courses (Roxas, 1965:92-93)

> "where capital investments and instructional costs per student are relatively low: commerce, business administration, teacher training, law and the liberal arts. Since these areas are the fields where enrollments can be multiplied without much additional investment, tuition and fees can be made relatively lower per student in these areas. In a country where the diploma is more important than the educational discipline these would also be the most attractive areas for students who desire the status symbol and prestige of a college education since these can be purchased here at the lowest price."

Cheetham and Hawkins (World Bank, 1976:292) also find that "quality is unsatisfactory in fields requiring relatively high costs per student (for example, engineering, a field in which many graduates fail in the professional examination)." This unfortunately implies that education may not pay off as initially expected. The consumption view is not universally applicable to Filipinos in the U.S. however.

A survey of predominantly second wave immigrants in the metropolitan New York City area (Macaranas, 1978b) demonstrates that the respondents are conscious of the need for an investment-type of education to be able to succeed in the U.S., in contrast to the consumption-type that has been received commonly in the Philippines. The respondents, averaging 26 years old, are typically conscious of U.S. labor market discrimination and are entrepreneurial-minded in character.

The cultural deficit theory may also be supported by another survey of Filipinos in Stockton, California (Ayupan and Howells, 1980). This study reveals that the predictors for full-time college attendance among females are: single civil status, higher ethnic identification, less educated father, intact family, positive maternal influence, greater age difference between father and mother and between mother and subject, greater flexibility, and higher measured intelligence. Similar predictors for males are: being single, with an educated father, higher income expectations at age 30, less Filipino background of the parental grandmother, smaller age difference between parents, and less socialization which implies "that they are less likely to conform to norms in society" (Ayupan and Howells, 1980:12). One need only negate some of the predictors which may be justified as culturally-rooted to explain the relatively low college attendance of Filipino males and females observed in the 1970 census; but there may be good grounds to believe that cultural traits have been shaped by economic circumstances.

2. Economic Assimilation and Education

A second general area of concern in the Filipino American community involves the social indicators of equity in education. The data in Table II are rough measures of socio-economic assimilation which Card (1980) found to be less rapid than cultural assimilation but more rapid than the structural type (association with Caucasians) based on a study of Filipinos in the San Francisco Bay Area. Indeed, in the 16-year period covered in the table, the process of reaching parity with the male majority reference group has not been smooth (e.g., delayed education, high school overqualification indicators for females; high school completion and college overqualification indicators for males).

In fact there have been some retrogression in certain indicators for females (high school nonattendance and college overqualification indicators) which are related to the poor performance of Filipino women on the income side of the labor market (Urban Associates, 1974; Commission on Civil Rights, 1978; Macaranas, 1978b). Males appear to be improving in some indicators (lower percentages of delayed education and high school nonattendance; larger ratios for college completion and earnings differential for college-educated) although these are weighed down by other indicators, not reported in Table II, especially earnings mobility and mean earnings adjusted for age, educational attainment, prestige score for occupation, regional cost of living and hours worked. Other studies support this dreary picture.

One study estimates that the initial income differential between Filipino immigrants and Hawaii-born Filipino Americans is reduced by nearly one-half over their working lives but the "immigrants never overcome the disadvantages associated with foreign birth" -- they never catch up in terms of income (Fujii and Mak, 1981:29). This is in direct contrast to the opposite result for European male immigrants possibly because the Filipino immigrants have low median levels of education (4.5 years) relative to natives (11.5) and are mainly in menial occupations (40% vs. 20%) that do not offer upward mobility that may raise incomes (Fujii and Mak, 1981:33). Another study (Chiswick, 1981) estimates that among the native-born Filipino Americans, half of their lower earnings may be explained by differences in schooling (differences in experience and weeks worked play smaller roles). More important is the finding that "the lower earnings and employment...arise from the smaller favorable impact of their human capital. At this point it is not clear whether these smaller favorable impacts arise from a lower quality of schooling and on-the-job training, or from a lower payoff from training of the same quality" (Chiswick, 1981:11).

Some problems of interpretation of the social indicators in Table II must be recognized. First, none of the indicators can purport to measure well-being because no inputs or causal factors leading to the outcomes are assessed at all; instead, emphasis is placed on results, thus neglecting differences in access to resources available to various groups. Therefore, information on opportunities on the resource inputs must be considered, e.g., out-of-pocket costs in the high school and college completion rates (Macaranas, 1980), local factors responsible for underemployment so that educators can correct those within their control, e.g., curriculum matters, job placement assistance, counseling programs, etc. (National Commission on Manpower Policy, 1976:90-96, 168-70).

Second, differences in native- versus foreign born may mask problems or create them where none exist when data are lumped. For example, the brighter picture for Filipino Americans on the delayed education indicator may very well be due to the inclusion of recently arrived students continuing their education here from the six-year elementary, four-year secondary cycles in the Philippines, two years shy of the American standard. Age/grade placement problems have been suggested as a possible cause for disinterest in schooling (Bagasao, 1980).

3. Pluralism and the Native- vs. Foreign-Born

This finally brings in the issue of differences between native-born and foreign-born Filipinos in the community. The language characteristics in Table I draw attention to the following contrasting data: (1) While 95% of the foreign-born are from Pilipino-language backgrounds, this ratio stands at 65% for the native-born. (2) Of those with Pilipino-language backgounds, 83% of the foreign-born are in Pilipino-language households compared to 88% for the other group. (3) Of those in Pilipino-language households, English is the usual individual language in 58% of the foreign-born and 50% for the native-born.

These data manifest strong differences at the language background level but not at the household and individual language levels. However, the foreign-born Filipino American's proficiency in English differ from individual to individual for several reasons. Students from non-Tagalog speaking regions (Tagalog is the basis of the national language Pilipino) have the burden of learning English in addition to their native dialects and Pilipino; English is still used as the medium of instruction in higher grades in primary schools, and in secondary and collegiate levels also all over the Philippines. (There are over 70 dialects in the country.) The quality of instruction varies regionally due to shortages in classrooms and textbooks. A continuous progression scheme was adopted in 1971 which allows every student to move into the next grade automatically until he/she completes the sixth year

(World Bank, 1976:287). Hence, English as a Second Language (ESL) programs will be increasingly needed for these young students who are confronted with a whole new world of problems once enrolled in American schools, including unfamiliarity with testing methods (Bagasao, 1980:17; see the Appendix for a list of concerns/needs affecting Filipino American students taken from her study of a junior high school in Los Angeles).

Other differences between native- and foreign-born Filipinos in the U.S. range from outward manifestations in speech, clothing and sociability (Bagasao, 1980) to the degree of exposure to parents and neighbors, the ability to express and cope with aggression and the presence or absence of viable identification figures (Agbayani, 1979). These have been the sources of tension between the two groups, the "locals" and the FOBs or "Fresh off the Boat, " "Flip Overboard," or "Fresh Off the Border." Agbayani (1979) argues that one way to relieve such discord is for authorities to adopt cultural and language pluralism.

In a way, this has been the shift in most studies of the immigrant experience: away from the assmimilationist model to the pluralist paradigm (Hune, 1977: 22-42). In the latter, ethnic groups are assumed to maintain group identification even to the third or fourth generations while in the former they are thought to lose identity in the melting pot. Both models appear to be present in many Filipino homes (Burris, 1977; Card, 1980) but the latter is more prominent in issues of education among older Filipino American communities in the U.S.

Through the Pilipino Far West Task Force Education in California, the community has advised, formally and informally, on curriculum matters and school policies for children of kindergarten to college age (Mizokawa and Morishima, 1979:18). Several master's theses and doctoral dissertations have been written on Filipino culture specific issues (Arias, 1973; Junasa, 1961; Le Vasseur, 1973; Nolasco, 1933; Respicio-Diaz, 1968; Reyes, 1973), and language problems (Dagot, 1967; Lalas, 1979; Maglangit, 1954; Ortega, 1955; Romaquin, 1965). Inadequate and inaccurate representations and references to Filipinos and the Philippines have been raised (Espiritu, 1954; Yu, 1977) and classroom materials dealing with Filipinos have been prepared for non-Filipino teachers (Baltazar, et.al., 1977).

IV. THE FUTURE

As second wave immigrants swell the ranks of Filipinos in the U.S., the diversity of the educational needs of the community will increase. For example, in response to the need of pre-schoolers, more nurseries may be expected to be opened up by enterprising Filipinos particularly with backgrounds in education and/or child psychiatry. Filipino academic achievers will gain more prominence in their own schools and high expectations may be imposed unwittingly on their less gifted counterparts by teachers not sensitive to differences in their backgrounds -- their nativity, prior Philippine schooling, parental support, etc.; this signals the need for programs that will make educators more aware of such differences. Bilingual/bicultural programs may be demanded more militantly by Filipino taxpayers in areas with high concentration of the Filipino American community.

The search for ethnic roots will be more likely concentrated in the third and later generations; these will be the sources of the demand for more sensitivity to their historical interests through curricular reform, the formation of new associations which will engage in local and state-wide politics and in research that will document the experience of the various communities across the country, etc.

The socioeconomically assimilated members of the group will serve as role models for many of the newly-arrived migrants and their children (through the schools, churches, ethnic mass media, and regional associations) but only within limited class lines perhaps.

The number of Filipinos in relatively low socioeconomic status may rise as the foreign-born experience the realities of their mismatched education from the Philippines and the sophisticated discriminatory practices in the labor markets especially for professionals. Licensing requirements will be actively questioned by Filipino professional associations; they will provide more refresher and continuing education courses for their members. Finally, the need for a national lobbying group will gradually dawn on the minds of community leaders as common issues like these are recognized.

TABLE 1: ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSONS OF FILIPINO ORIGIN IN THE UNITED STATES, BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS, SPRING 1976

(number in thousands)

Language Characteristics	Total	Native-born	Foreign-born Total	Foreign-born Philippines
Total	554 (1)	186	369 (2)	364
With English-language backgrounds	76	63	(*)	(*)
With Pilipino-language backgrounds	471	121	350	346
In English-only households	74	13	61	60
In Pilipino-language households	397 (3)	107	289	286
With English usual indiv. language	222	54	168	166
With Pilipino usual indiv. language	123	(*)	119	119

(*) Fewer than an estimated 15,000 persons.

(1) Includes an estimated 7,000 persons with non-English language backgrounds other than Pilipino.

(2) Includes an estimated 2,000 persons born abroad outside the Philippines.

(3) Includes an estimated 37,000 children younger than 4 and 15,000 other persons whose individual language was not ascertained.

Note: Details may not add to totals because of roundings.

SOURCE: Survey of Income and Education conducted by the Bureau of the Census, Spring 1976, as reported in the National Center for Education Statistics Bulletin 79-B-12, May 21, 1979.

TABLE II: SOCIAL INDICATORS OF EQUITY IN EDUCATION FOR ASIAN-AMERICANS, RAW MEASURES FOR 1960, 1970 and 1976, BY ETHNIC GROUP AND SEX

			Chinese	Japanese	Pilipino	Majority
1. Delayed education: % of 15-, 16- and 17-year olds who are two or more years behind the modal grade for their age on April 1	1960	M	13	5*	14	18
		F	6	8*	3*	10*
	1970	M	10	4*	13	12
		F	9	1*	7*	6*
	1976	M	na	8	7	10
		F	na	1*	3	7*
2. High school non-attendance: % of 15-, 16- and 17-year olds who were not enrolled in school on April 1	1960	M	9	2*	12	18
		F	14	3*	7	12*
	1970	M	6	6	8	9
		F	9	6	9	8
	1976	M	na	2	6	5
		F	na	1*	10	6
3. High school completion: % of persons from 20-24 years of age who have completed 12 or more years of school	1960	M	84*	89*	81*	69
		F	82*	84*	76	70
	1970	M	90*	94*	77*	83
		F	88*	94*	84	82
	1976	M	88	98*	81	87
		F	90	99*	78*	86
4. College completion: % of persons from 25-29 years of age who have completed at least 4 years of college	1960	M	49*	39*	19	20
		F	26	13*	16	9*
	1970	M	58*	39*	28*	22
		F	42*	31*	50*	14*
	1976	M	60*	53*	34	34
		F	44*	35	51*	22*

			Chinese	Japanese	Pilipino	Majority
5. High school overqualification: % of high school graduates who are employed in occupations which require less than a high school degree	1960	M	34.6*	51.8*	62.6*	40.2
		F	27.2*	44.5*	35.8	33.4*
	1970	M	33.8*	43.4*	49.3*	37.6
		F	25.7*	35.4*	33.2*	29.9*
	1976	M	43.3	48.4*	49.5*	44.2
		F	48.3	50.8*	34.8*	49.0*
6. College overqualification: % of persons with at least 1 year of college who are employed in occupations which typically require less education than they have	1960	M	48.2	52.4	48.1	42.7
		F	39.0	32.2*	37.1	29.8*
	1970	M	38.3*	44.3	45.1	41.7
		F	34.5*	35.0	38.2	24.7*
	1976	M	51.3*	49.4*	56.2*	44.7
		F	51.2*	41.1*	39.6	45.4
7. Earnings differential for college-educated: median earnings of those with 4 or more years of college who had some earnings during the year	1960	M	$5589	$5250	$3713	$6833
		F	487	1999	1667	1739
	1970	M	9068	10045	7793	10651
		F	1875	2171	3875	1943
	1976	M	12790	14253	13091	15165
		F	6421	8383	9038	8106

na indicates that a value was not reported due to an insufficient sample size.

* indicates that the difference between this value and the majority (male) benchmark is statistically significant at the 0 10 level.

SOURCE: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women, August 1978.

FIGURE I.

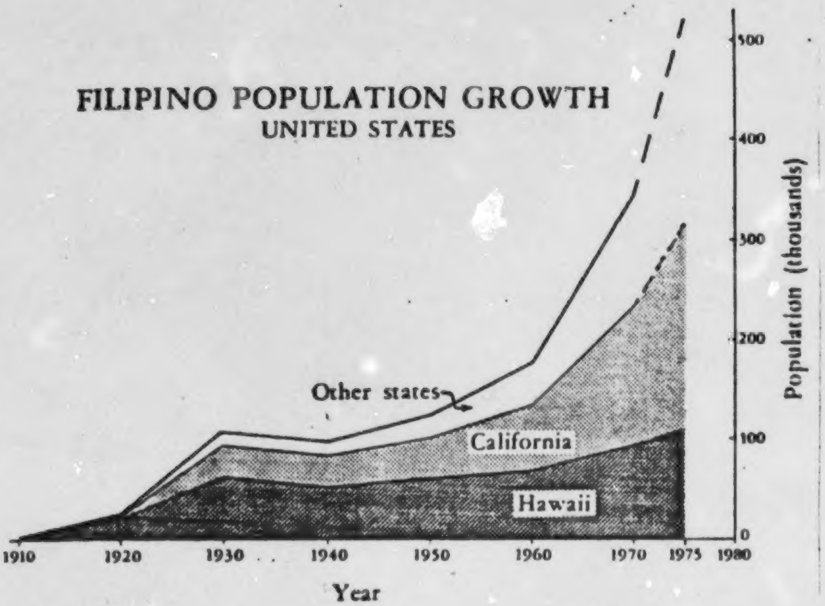
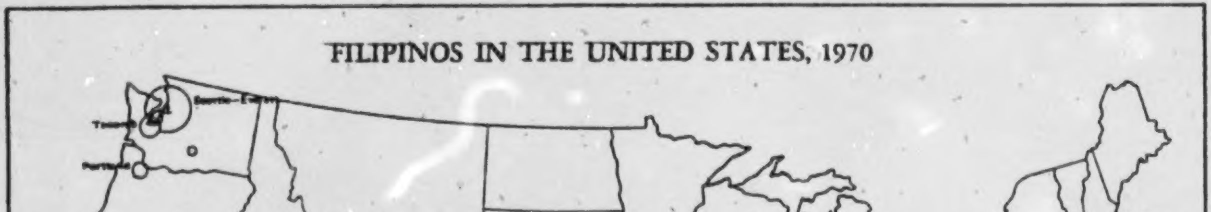


FIGURE II


FILIPINOS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1970
Seattle–Everett
Tacoma
Portland
Sacramento
Stockton
San Jose
San Francisco–Oakland
Fresno
Santa Barbara
Bakersfield
Oxnard–Ventura
Los Angeles–Long Beach
San Bernardino–Riverside–Ontario
Anaheim–Santa Ana–Garden Grove
San Diego
Honolulu
Kauai
Maui
Hawaii
Chicago
Detroit
Cleveland
St. Louis
New York
Newark
Jersey City
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington D.C.
Boston
Norfolk–Portsmouth
Charleston
Pensacola
Jacksonville
New Orleans
Growth Rate
Increase, 1960—1970
○ Less than 100%
○ 100 - 200%
● More than 200%
200
500
1,000
5,000
10,000
25,000
40,000
65,000 persons
0
300
miles
U.S. Navy installation with more than 5,000 personnel
Data includes all SMSAs and non-SMSA counties with over 200 Filipinos

Source: James P. Allen, "Recent Migrations from the Philippines and Filipino Communities in the United States," The Geographical Review, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1977), pp. 197 and 203.

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APPENDIX

IDENTIFICATION OF NEEDS & RECOMMENDATIONS

THE EDUCATION OF PILIPINO/PILIPINO-AMERICAN STUDENTS

SOURCE OF CONCERN/ RECOMMENDATION								AREA OF CONCERN/ NEEDS	RECOMMENDATION(S)	*TARGET POPULATION
Security	Teachers	Counselors	Students	Community	Parents	Administrators	Researchers			
	X							ESL students' shyness may be interpreted to indicate "low Ability" instead of embarrassment with language (inappropriate accent)	-Increase teacher sensitivity, encourage students to "open-up" & participate -Encourage students to socialize rather than isolate themselves (from both non Pilipinos & Pilipino/Pilipino-American students) -Teacher/Counselor/Administrator in-service on cultural characteristics, student needs, and strategies	ESL
	X			X				Placement of students in "mixed" ESL classes where there are too many different languages. The learning of proper accent (specific need of Pilipino Student) is impossible	-A separate ESL class (Pilipino-English)	ESL
	X		X					Language problems in regular classes (difficulty with socializing, class participation, homework)	-Increase teacher sensitivity/information -Pilipino/Pilipino-American Teacher Aides -Parent involvement in classroom instruction -More personalized attention	GP,ESL

* GP (general population), ESL (English as a Second Language), AA/G (High achiever/gifted) A (Average Student), BP/G (Behavioral Problem/Gang)

SOURCE OF CONCERN/ RECOMMENDATION								AREA OF CONCERN/ NEEDS	RECOMMENDATION(S)	*TARGET POPULATION
Security	Teachers	Counselors	Students	Community	Parents	Administrators	Researchers			
	X			X				Placement of recent immigrants by age rather than by grade in previous country (children in 7th are younger in Philippine schools)	-Develop an alternative way of placing these students which accounts for differences in age/grade placements in U.S. and Philippines	GP/ESL
	X			X	X			Use of Standardized Home Language Survey does not necessarily identify language needs of Pilipino immigrant	-Teachers need to be aware that English may be a language of the home, but student is still in need of ESL. However, needs are specific to Pilipinos (not the same as for Hispanics, Koreans, Vietnamese)	GP/ESL
	X			X	X		X	Reinforcements/Rewards/Motivation for "High Achievers", "Gifted", "Highly Motivated". Focus tends to be on "Disadvantaged" & "Problem-students". Opportunities have been limited since Prop. 13. School may be neglecting this ethnic talented group.	-Examine the reward opportunities for the students (recognition award, honor rolls, etc) -Develop ways of reinforcing achievement (provide incentives, awards, etc.) -Support the "image" of achievers -Development of special programs for these students (in AE program & for all students) This may involve some proposal writing for funding -Advanced courses or academic opportunities in music, math, science -Career Education for Professional Occupations -College/University Exposure/Early Introduction.	AA/G

* GP (general population), ESL (English as a Second Language), AA/G (High Achiever/gifted) A (Average Student), BP/G (Behavioral Problem/Gang)

SOURCE OF CONCERN/ RECOMMENDATION								AREA OF CONCERN/ NEEDS	RECOMMENDATION(S)	*TARGET POPULATION
Security	Teachers	Counselors	Students	Community	Parents	Administrators	Researchers			
	X		X	X	X		X	Exposure to Pilipino/Pilipino-American Culture is limited. Opportunity to learn about history, language, cultural values is limited.	-Infuse the teaching of Pilipino culture into regular classes (history, geography, literature etc.) -Inservice class or workshop to teach staff about culture and how to teach units (curriculum guides available) -Offer a class in Pilipino/Pilipino-American History and culture -Offer a language class (Pilipino) -Increase the number of books in the library on the Philippines and Pilipino-Americans. -Increase the number of Pilipino-American Staff (counselors, Administrations, teachers, aides) -Include Philippine music in musical productions -Provide guest speakers, role models, field trip opportunities that involve exposure to Pilipino/Pilipino-American culture. -Include Philippine foods in cafetria offerings.	GP

* GP (general population), ESL (English as a Second Language), AA/G (High achiever/gifted) A (Average Student), BP/G (Behavioral Problem/Gang)

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THE INDOCHINESE IN AMERICA: WHO ARE THEY AND HOW ARE THEY DOING?

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This paper is a modest attempt to look at different aspects of the immigration of the Indochinese in the United States from 1975 to the present time. In addition to this immigration in general, the problems and progress in the resettlement of these new Americans will be examined from a cross-cultural perspective. The paper will be focused on their linguistic, ethnic, cultural and educational characteristics. It also examines the implementation of federal, state and local policies and programs designed to assist Indochinese refugees. After a long and frustrating search for data and materials dealing with these new immigrants, the author is led to believe that, so far, the study of the migration and resettlement of the Indochinese refugees has been quite limited.Such a study has probably been impeded not only by the lack of interest in research on the part of governmental and voluntary agencies, but also by the lack of resources available to scholars and researchers, particularly Indochinese. As a result, the information, literature, and published studies of the Indochinese are hard to find. Although scholarly studies on the backgrounds, migration, adjustment problems, and progress of the refugees are scarce, quite a few piece-meal, unpublished materials dealing with the Indochinese refugees in the U.S. do exist. By and large, these unpublished materials are quite accurate and written by Indochinese educators and/or social workers who saw an urgent need to write such materials in order to help their non-Indochinese colleagues, the American public, and sponsors understand the new immigrants*. Interestingly, the few scholarly studies on the refugees were mostly written by non-Indochinese scholars and researchers.

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* It should be noted that the principal sources of statistical data used in this paper are derived from the Reports to the Congress prepared by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, between June 15, 1976 and December 31, 1979.

Historical Background

The fall of Saigon in April, 1975 triggered an abrupt and mass exodus of refugees from Indochina to the United States. This exodus began with the controversial Baby-Lift which brought to the U.S. 2,643 orphans from various orphanages in Vietnam. Some of these children allegedly were not orphans, but instead children of influential Vietnamese and/or Vietnamese who worked with the Americans in Vietnam. Within days, before and after the collapse of the American-supported regime in South Vietnam, approximately 145,000 Indochinese refugees, the majority of whom were Vietnamese associated with the war effort in Vietnam, were evacuated to the U. S. This was the beginning of a new and dramatic chapter in the migration history of the United States. Among these first Indochinese refugees were a small number of Laotians, Hmong tribespeople of Laos, and Cambodians.

More than six years later, this traumatic migration of refugees from Indochina has not ceased. On the contrary, it has been accelerated with thousands of refugees continuing to arrive in refugee camps in Southeast Asia every month. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have fled their homeland in small and unseaworthy craft to seek asylum in neighboring countries, with the hope of eventually being resettled in the U. S. or third world countries. Thousands of Laotians have swum the Mekong river to Thailand, seeking freedom and a new life. Likewise, numerous Cambodians have risked their lives, fleeing through mined jungles into Thailand to look for freedom and a better life. Despite the horrible conditions in refugee camps and unbelievable personal sufferings in search for a better life these refugees continue to arrive in refugee camps, and in some cases leave their beloved ones behind, worrying about their safety and welfare. As many as 40 percent of the fleeing refugees are believed to have perished in this flight.*

For convenience's sake, and in order to better describe the make-up of the refugees, the exodus of the Indochinese refugees from 1975 to the present time can be arbitrarily divided into two major waves of migration:

1. The first wave arrived in the U.S. in 1975 and 1976 directly from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia through refugee reception centers at Guam; Wake Island; Subic Bay, Philipines; Camp Pendleton, California; Camp Fort Chaffe, Arkansas; Eglin Airforce Base, Florida; and Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania.
2. The second wave arrived in the U. S. from 1976 to the present. These refugees not come directly from Indochina, but rather from refugee camps in Thailand, Malaysia, Hongkong, Macau, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. By and large, this wave included:
    a. The Laotian refugees and the Hmong tribespeople of Laos who crossed the Mekong river to Thailand.
    b. The Cambodian refugees who escaped famine and the war in Cambodia to enter Thailand.
    c. The Vietnamese and Chinese Vietnamese who set sail from their homeland to seek asylum in refugee camps, and were known as "the boat people".

Demographic and Ethnic Profiles

Prior to the arrival of the first Indochinese refugees on American soil the Indochinese colony in the U.S., composed primarily of Vietnamese, numbered fewer than ten thousand. The largest concentration of a few thousand was in the Greater Washington, D.C. area. The other members of this colony were scattered throughout the U.S. and included immigrants, clergymen, and sojourners such as students, short-term trainees, and diplomats.

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* At the time of this writing, the freedom flight of the Indochinese does not seem to have subsided.

According to the June 12, 1981 issue of the Refugee Report,* the total Indochinese refugee population in the U.S. as of April 30, 1981 was 483,964 distributed unequally in the fifty states of the Union and U. S. Territories (Virgin Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico). California ranked first with 167,522 refugees and was followed by Texas with 42,612 and Washington with 22,394. The three states having the lowest concentrations of refugees were Vermont with 286 refugees, Delaware with 262, and New Hampshire with 329. The following table from the June 12, 1981 issue of the Refugee Report gives a better illustration of the distribution of Indochinese refugees in the U. S.

Current Indochinese Refugee Population in the U. S. by State
As of April 30, 1981 Source: ORR/HHS**

Alabama	2,204
Alaska	439
Arizona	3,128
Arkansas	2,517
California	167,522
Colorado	8,229
Connecticut	4,429
Delaware	262
Nevada	1,986
New Hampshire	328
New Jersey	4,600
New Mexico	2,280
New York	13,530
North Carolina	4,075
North Dakota	534
Ohio	6,586

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* This report is published by the American Public Welfare Association under a grant from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement, Department of Health and Human Services.

** Office of Refugee Resettlement, Department of Health and Human Services.

District of Columbia	994
Florida	8,927
Georgia	5,094
Hawaii	6,083
Idaho	918
Illinois	17,841
Indiana	3,810
Iowa	7,562
Kansas	6,322
Kentucky	1,752
Louisiana	11,435
Maine	707
Maryland	5,683
Massachusetts	8,347
Michigan	8,658
Minnesota	16,152
Mississippi	1,434
Missouri	4,437
Montana	1,035
Nebraska	1,921
Oklahoma	6,591
Oregon	14,613
Pennsylvania	18,847
Rhode Island	2,660
South Carolina	1,754
South Dakota	856
Tennessee	2,992
Texas	42,612
Utah	6,187
Vermont	286
Virginia	14,677
Washington	22,394
West Virginia	467
Wisconsin	6,468
Wyoming	362
Virgin Island	10
Guam	349
Puerto Rico	33
Other	35
TOTAL	483,964

Furthermore, the statistical reports of the Office of Refugee Affairs, Department of State shows that the Indochinese refugee population in Southeast Asia, as of October 30, 1980, was 204,525. This figure did not include 144,500 Cambodians in holding centers in Thailand. With the current influx rate of approximately 14,000 Indochinese refugees a month to the United States, the Indochinese refugee population in the U.S. is expected to reach the one-half million mark by the end of June, 1981.

Based on the resettlement patterns of Indochinese refugees in the past six years, one is led to believe that the newly-arrived refugees will tend to settle down in urban areas with large concentrations of refugees such as Southern California, Houston, Dallas, New Orleans, Seattle, and Greater Washington, D.C., etc. One of the reasons for this trend is that the newly-arrived refugees usually wish to bereunited with their relatives or friends who came to the U.S. as refugees before them. What this means is that the locations or states which already have large concentrations of refugees will continue to receive more refugees. One does not forget that the federal agencies responsible for the resettlement of Indochinese refugees allegedly adopted a policy of dispersing the refugees over all the fifty states including sparsely populated states such as Alaska. Regardless of whatever the cited reasons might have been, this short-sighted policy, which did not take into consideration the real needs of the refugees, was largely responsible for the secondary interstate migration which began to be noticed as early as the beginning of 1976, just a few months after the first refugees were resettled in this country. After a fairly short period of resettlement, many refugees left their first or even second place of resettlement to regroup in their ethnic clusters found in Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Washington, D.C., and particularly California. They left everything behind to start all over again where they felt "at home" among their own people. Other motivations for this secondary or tertiary migration included the warm weather, better opportunities for job training, employment and education, and a desire to be close to relatives, friends and compatriots. Another important reason is the fact that when many refugees ventured out of their ethnic shells to explore their new and alien world and surroundings, they met with alienation, and in some cases, ugly hostility. This forced many of them to withdraw into their ethnic enclaves for protection and comfort, thus slowing down their acculturation process. The secondary or tertiary migration not only brought about damaging economic, emotional and psychological consequences for a good number of affected refugees, but also created frustration and disappointment for the refugees as well as their American sponsors and all those who have tried so hard to help the refugees adjust to American life. However, it is important to note that although a number of refugees experienced some sort of hostility, the Indochinese refugees, by and large, did not encounter the kind of racial discrimination, hostility and physical violence experienced by their Asian predecessors,namely the Japanese and Chinese Americans.

From 1975 to 1976, about 42% of roughly 150,000 refugees from the first wave were under 18, so approximately 65,000 refugees were of school age. The unexpected and sudden appearance of this important school age population into our public schools led to serious concerns and severely impacted a number of schools in places such as Southern California and Texas where there are large concentrations of refugees. The unfamiarity with the Indochinese languages, cultures and educational systems aggravated these legitimate concerns.

Sixty-two percent of the refugees arrived in family groups of five or more persons. It is interesting to note that there were 2,118 of these large families which had a woman as the head of the household, accounting for a total of 14,811 refugees. By and large, this wave of refugees was ethnically and linguistically more homogeneous than the second wave, and consisted mainly of Vietnamese. Two-thirds of these refugees were quite urbanized. Before their arrival in the United States a good number of them were not only already well-educated and came from well-to-do families by Vietnamese standards, but also had exposure to Western culture and the English language due to the French occupation and the American involvement in Vietnam. They were professionals in their own rights and/or members of the educational and social elite, and generally speaking, occupied a relatively high economic status in their native country.

The second wave of refugees was much more heterogeneous in terms of linguistic, cultural, geographic, and educational backgrounds. The major groups of refugees in this wave were Vietnamese, Chinese Vietnamese (from both North and South Vietnam), Cambodians, Laotians, and the Hmong tribespeople of Laos. Compared to the refugees of the first wave (1975-1976), the refugees of the second wave included more males (57.6 percent compared to 54.7 percent), and fewer older men and women. Many of these males were either single or came to the U.S. without their wives and/or children. This could partly be explained by the well-publicized attacks and barbarianism of Thai pirates, and the hardship, danger and high cost of the escape. Furthermore, available data show not only a slightly higher proportion of children among the newer refugees (44.5 percent age 0-17 years compared to 42.6 percent) but also a higher proportion of working persons (47.7 percent compared to 45.6 percent).

Although statistical data on the educational, occupational, and socioeconomic background of the newer refugees are not available, observations, feedbacks and personal experience all indicate that by and large these refugees came to the U.S. in poor health, with a much lower educational and socioeconomic backgrounds and with fewer marketable skills than their predecessors. They also seemed to have much less capability in the English language, and little or no exposure to Western culture and urban living. A substantial number of them were semi-illiterate or illiterate. As such, and according to past experiences, the resettlement, acculturation and education of the new refugees will likely be more time consuming and require more efforts and resources.

Percentage wise, roughly 85 percent of the total Indochinese refugee population already in the U.S. are Vietnamese (including a small number of Chinese Vietnamese), 10 percent are Laotians (including Hmong), and 5 percent Cambodians. It should be noted that the majority of the Chinese Vietnamese refugees came in the second wave. The above ethnic make-up is gradually changing with the steady influx of Cambodian refugees to the U.S. from refugee camps in Thailand, and the decreased admission of Vietnamese refugees. Furthermore, the increased flow of refugees during 1979 included a number of unaccompanied minors, mostly teenage boys. Between March 1 and September 30, 1979 423 unaccompanied minors from Indochina were reportedly resettled in 11 states. However, it is not clear whether this figure includes any of the 400 or so unaccompanied minors between the ages of two and sixteen who were reported to have been evacuated from Vietnam in the 1975 Baby-Lift. On the otherhand, for a variety of unclear reasons it seems that many of the Baby-Lift orphans and unaccompanied minors were deliberately placed with majority white families, instead of Indochinese or Asian families.

The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees

With their backgrounds briefly described above, one could easily predict their resettlement problems from the outset. The arrival of the first Indochinese refugees in 1975 caught the American public, and especially those who would be responsible for their resettlement, off guard. The unpreparedness of American sponsors, educators, social workers, and other service providers often led to untold frustration, concern and sometimes even anger. In addition to the tremendous culture shock brought about by the vast and obvious cultural differences, the Indochinese refugees, including those who came in the first wave, had to face a host of obstacles and/or problems in their effort to resettle in their new country. Their unfamiliarity with the English language and the American way of life coupled with the lack of knowledge of the legal, economic, transportation and social service systems frustrated and alienated these refugees and hampered their resettlement. The language deficiency and the lack of marketable and/or required skills often resulted in unemployment, underemployment or employment in low paying, menial jobs. Many refugee families of six or more persons faced serious housing problems. Housing codes, coupled with employment pressures and/or employment training needs, adversely affected their traditional child rearing practices and family lifestyles, which are characterized by their eating habits and sleeping patterns. The mother's resettlement effort reduced substantially the amount of time that she usually spent at home, taking care of the members of her family. For a good number of Indochinese mothers inadequate or unavailable child care does not allow or makes it difficult for them to attend English classes. and/or to participate in job training programs in order to be able to seek employment and get off the public assistance roll.

The loss of status as the sole breadwinners and authority figures saddened and psychologically depressed a good number of male heads of Indochinese refugees families. Furthermore, the role change created by the acute need for Indochinese housewives to go out and work instead of being economically dependent housewives, sometimes, strained their marital relationship, thus adding to the seemingly unbearable problems facing many Indochinese male refugees.

In a number of cases, this strained relationship reportedly ended in divorce which was considered unusual in their culture.

Their new and low social and economic status as a result of unemployment, underemployment or low paying, menial jobs below their skills left ugly psychological scars on many male refugees. Being unable to cope with the culture shock and multifaceted resettlement problems, some of them have reportedly taken, or have tried to take, their own lives, and in some cases, the lives of the members of their families as well. Mental health problems, therefore, understandably have increased and/or are surfacing among a number of refugees, especially singles who left their spouses and/or children in their homelands. These refugees have been and still are suffering from feelings of guilt. The male refugees who were in authority positions and/or enjoyed a high social, economic and prestige status back in their native countries tend to live with their past as an escape from the hard and cruel reality of the present, thus endangering or aggravating their mental health. Furthermore, Western ways of treating mental health problems do not seem to work well for Indochinese refugees having these problems. Poor communication between American psychiatrists and Indochinese patients as a result of the language barrier and cultural differences are two among several reasons for this failure. Many mental health problems described above such as feeling of guilt, depression, anxiety, alienation in the new culture, and sadness because of loss of country, property and status, were quite common and are still found among refugees. These problems impeded refugee resettlement.

The practices which are quite acceptable in American culture, and the values which are taught and observed in American schools sometimes collide head-on with those which are taught and observed in Indochinese families. Dating and reverence of individuality are two of a few examples of possible conflicts between Indochinese school children and their parents. This often leads to family disturbance and conflicts, which strain the parent-child relationship and widen the generation gap. In addition, the practice of placement by age rather than academic preparation makes education in American schools irrelevant, inappropriate and inequitable for a significant number of refugee children who are older and/or received limited or no education in their homelands. This practice has led to a rather high drop-out rate among illiterate and semi-illiterate children, older children or children with limited education because, in addition to the tremendous language barrier and unfamiliarity with the American educational system, these children are unable to live up to the academic expectations of the teacher.Therefore, for them, the education provided becomes meaningless and hard to consume. Furthermore, for a good number of refugee children, the absence of bilingual teachers and linguistically relevant materials contributes to the ineffectiveness and irrelevancy of the educational services provided. The sudden influx of this new student population into schools tended to make American educators nervous and created serious concerns in terms of educational services and resources. Confronted with the seemingly impossible task of educating the foreign-born children whose cultural, linguistic and educational backgrounds they did not know or knew very little about, many teachers and school administrators reportedly became quite frustrated or even angry, and cried for help. To educate Indochinese refugees is thus a real challenge for American educators. But challenges need not be if these challenges are handled properly, they can be quite positive. Nevertheless, a bright side of this seemingly hopeless situation is that their personal efforts and willingness in educating Indochinese children of the first wave made them prepared professionally to work more effectively with newer Indochinese refugee children. Ironically, with the current trend of decreasing enrollment in our public schools, the influx of Indochinese refugee children is considered a blessing by some school administrators and teachers. A number of classroom teachers have reportedly been struggling to get these well-disciplined and highly motivated students from Indochina. Some even have gone as far as "hiding" these students by keeping them away from special services such as bilingual education and ESL instruction that they need badly.

Although published research and data are minimal at this point in time, more than six years after their arrival, the refugees of the first wave, by and large, seem to have been doing quite well, taking into consideration their educational and socio-economic backgrounds. The majority of them have resettled in material comfort and are self-sufficient, if not prospering. A good number of refugee families now have a TV, if not a color TV, one or two cars, and one or even two houses. Many of them hold two jobs in order to support their large families and have unquestionably become self-supporting and contributing members of this pluralistic society.

In 1979, for instance, they reportedly paid no less than 29 million dollars in tax to the U.S. Treasury alone, thus clearly dismissing the unfounded fear that Indochinese refugees would unduly overburden America's public assistance rolls, and set up ghettos in American cities. Furthermore, despite the language barrier and unfamiliarity with the American educational system, many Indochinese children with a grade level education similar to their American peers, and especially the young ones have reportedly performed quite well in school. It is no longer rare to come across students with Indochinese names on the honor rolls of American schools or in the best known universities in the country.

On the contrary, mostly because of their backgrounds and past experiences in their homelands and refugee camps, the newer refugees seem to face more problems in their resettlement than their predecessors. In addition, the trauma of their freedom flight and extended stay in refugee camps have created numerous health, mental and psychological problems which will make their resettlement and mainstreaming more difficult and time consuming. At the same time, malnutrition and the recent famine in Cambodia may have severely affected the learning abilities of a number of children from Cambodia. These children will need special attention and help from the bilingual teacher, American monolingual teacher and school administrator. In order to facilitate the mainstreaming of these children, public funds will be needed to purchase appropriate materials, to hire bilingual teachers and to provide cross cultural, linguistic and professional training to American educators working with these children. The placement and education of the newly arrived refugee children calls for special patience and understanding on the part of the parent, school administrator and teacher alike because, a substantial number of school age children from Indochina not only face language problems and are unfamiliar with the American educational system, but also have lost a good deal of study time in their native countries and in refugee camps. Another problem is the loss of their degrees, transcripts and/or school records. Because of their unfamiliarity with the American educational system, school setting, practices, expectations, and particularly the English language, the new Indochinese student feels very threatened, alienated, scared and uneasy in the school. The acquisition of the English language is, of course, ranked first among his/her priorities. At this stage, a bilingual program or a heavy "dose" of English as a Second Language, preferably administered by bilingual personnel, is a wise move. However, since there is very little in common, linguistically, between English on the one hand and the various Indochinese languages on the other hand, learning the English language by students of limited English proficiency from Indochina can be a frustrating experience for students and teachers alike. This problem is worsened if the student had limited or no exposure to the English language and the American culture prior to resettlement. This experience can also be quite traumatic if the student is not placed at his/her appropriate level, or if he/she is placed in an ESL class with many different levels, as is usually the case. The student will encounter numerous difficulties with the English phonology, morphology and syntax. The English pronunciation, intonation, vowels, consonants, and particularly clusters of more than two consonants, to name a few, will create serious learning problems for him/her. Furthermore, the inconsistencies and/or irregularities in terms of spelling, word formation and grammatical structures of the English language will frustrate and discourage the Indochinese student as well as as slow down the language acquisition. Illiteracy or semi-illiteracy in their native language will augment the learning problem of a good number of Indochinese students. However, the natural bilingual and bicultural background of a number of Indochinese students, especially ethnic Chinese, will help them acquire the English language and mainstream into the American classroom and society more easily and quickly than monolingual Indochinese. In addition their peculiar learning style such as rote learning and their passive classroom behavior (as a manifestation of respect for the teacher) may bewilder, and be misinterpreted by, the American teacher. Finally, the racial prejudices and sometimes jealousy expressed overtly or covertly by majority and/or other ethnic minority students in the school force many students from Indochina to form, and stick to, their own groups for self protection against hostility and occasional physical abuses. This formation of ethnic cliques inevitably hinders their mainstreaming, interfers with the learning process, and creates conflicts between Indochinese students and other students at school.

The above problems are the culprit of all the difficulties affecting the mainstreaming of the newly arrived refugee child. His total educational experience depends on the formal process of instruction and the informal interactions in the school. This experience will influence and eventually shape the child's attitudes, cognition, and perception about himself/herself and others throughtout his/her life. Therefore, a quality, integrated educational program is certainly necessary to insure the maximum growth for the child, and to prepare him/her to live in this multicultural society. Since the desegregation-integration process is a very complex one and is heavily influenced, if not determined, by internal and external forces, one has to be aware of how this process works. One of the most important components of this process is the understanding and appreciation of not only cross-cultural differences but also contributions of culturally different members of this pluralistic society.

The Law and the Resettlement of Refugees

To deal with the mass and sudden migration of refugees from Indochina, a joint House and Senate conference committee, on May 22, 1975, agreed on the language of the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975, appropriating $405,000,000.00 for the Administration 's refugee program. Two days later, the Act became P.L. 94-23 as President Ford signed it into law. As such, the migration and resettlement of Indochinese refugees were protected and facilitated by the law of the land with public funds appropriated for different aspects of resettlement. In addition to P.L. 94-23, the Indochina Refugee Children Assistance Act of 1976 (P.L. 94-405), later amended by P.L. 95-561, provided public funds for the education of elementary-secondary students. Furthermore, the U.S. Congress continued to provide temporary authority and funding for the resettlement program (from employment and language training to mental health) by a series of five pieces of legislation P.L.95-145, P.L.95-549, P.L. 96-86, P.L. 96-110, and P.L. 96-123. Due to a lack of strict rules and regulations and particularly the fact that Indochinese educators and parents were not allowed to participate in the decision making process and program administration, the public money provided by the Indochina Refugee Children Assistance Act for the education of Indochinese refugees, generally speaking, did not seem to work effectively for the benefits of these children. Local educational agencies which received these funds through state educational agencies on the basis of the number of enrolled students were given practically total freedom to spend the money as they pleased and for the purposes and/or the target populations they deemed important. In some isolated cases, this situation was even worse if the Indochinese educational funds were administered by other minorities who alledgedly seemed to be more interested in serving the members of their groups rather than Indochinese students.

In March, 1979, the Carter Administration proposed new legislation to the U.S. Congress to provide a comprehensive and permanent statutory authority regarding the establishment of regular procedures for determining the numbers of refugees to be admitted to the United States, and of equitable programs of assistance and services for all refugees accepted by this country, regardless of country of origin. On March 17, 1980 the Administrations's proposed Refugee Act of 1979 became P.L. 96-212 and known as Refugee Act of 1980. As such, this act brought to an end the period of piece-meal legislations for refugees.

Unlike their Chinese and Japanese predecessors who came to this country in the early 20th century without legislation to protect and assist them and who were exposed to blatant racial discrimination, severe hostility and sometimes cruel treatment, the more recent Indochinese refugees, by and large, have enjoyed the protection, assistance and hospitality of the American people, Congress and government. This assistance has been manifested by legislation and by the very fact that so many American citizens, church groups and organizations were willing to sponsor Indochinese refugees. Although there have been some occasional hostilities and ugly encounters due primarily to misunderstanding and misinformation, and despite the fact that the refugees came at the time of economic depression and high unemployment (nearly 9 percent), it goes without saying that a large proportion of the American people not only welcomed but also were eager to assist Indochinese refugees. In fact, in the history of immigration in the United States, seldom has one noticed the kind of emotional tie between the sponsor and the sponsored commonly found between the Indochinese refugees and their American sponsors.

The Future of the Indochinese Refugees

Although the physical resettlement of the refugees of the first wave can be said to have been quite smooth and without major crises, the cultural and linguistic differences coupled with some unfamiliar practices in the U.S. still make refugee adjustment to American society quite painful and sometimes intolerable.

According to all indications and past experience, the refugees of the first wave, generally speaking, seem to have made substantial economic progress in such a short period of time, and have become self-sufficient. Although up-to-date data are not available yet, the Social Security Index, which records the number of persons aged 20-59 who receive earnings in jobs covered by Social Security, indicates that already in 1977, or just a short period ot two years after their arrival in the U. S., 90 percent of male refugees and 61.2 percent of female refugees within the above age group received earnings compared to 93 percent of male Americans and 63.5 percent of female Americans of the total population in the U.S. This achievement in a fairly short period of time is a good indication that the hard working Indochinese refugees, or at least those who came to the United States during the first wave, will not only "make it" but also do well in their adoptive country in no time. However, the success story of the earlier refugees should not blur or cover the special needs and problems of the newly arrived refugees as explained above, nor should it overshadow the problems the refugees from Indochina in general are still facing in the American pluralistic society. In addition to the current economic ills, inflation and high unemployment, the visibility and success of the earlier refugees have led to increased hostility manifested by other minorities as well as the majority in some confined areas of the United States. The number of racial incidents and/or economic encounters, mainly due to misunderstanding and misinformation, has reportedly increased in places where there are large concentrations of Indochinese refugees. Regrettable incidents and dangerous confrontations such as those in the Southern part of Texas and Denver, Colorado, have been widely covered by the media. Similarly, racial encounters are imminent in places such as Southern California and elsewhere. They may prove to be explosive if nothing is done to defuse them. Due to an acute lack of information and contacts between members of different ethnic groups, a number of the members of minority groups, through rumors, or because of pure jealousy, have been led to believe wrongly that Indochinese refugees have been receiving preferential treatment in terms of housing, public assistance and other social services, etc. On the other hand, a good number of refugees still do not understand, or are not aware of, local mores, taboos, customs, traditions, values, expectations, and practices in the U.S. In addition to the much-needed informal contacts and exchange of information between different ethnic communities, orientation programs for the leaders and members of these communities, especially for Indochinese refugees, must be set up immediately. These programs should be funded by federal, state, local and voluntary agencies responsible for the resettlement of refugees, but they should be conducted by qualified members of these ethnic groups with the aim of reducing imminent racial tensions. In the book entitled Getting to Know the Vietnamese and Their Culture published by Frederick Ungar in 1976, the author of this book, also the author of this paper, suggested orientation programs for both Indochinese refugees and members of other ethnic groups including the majority. However, practically nothing or little has been done in this crucial area. According to the practice so far, once a refugee is sponsored, the voluntary agency in charge will dump him or her into society without any follow up, and force him or her to "sink or swim".

In addition to the existing hostilities a number of refugees, including even the earlier refugees, are still facing underemployment, unemployment, and a host of other resettlement problems such as the culture shock, the English language barrier, a sense of guilt, depression, alienation, discrimination and loneliness. In a way, the newer refugees from Indochina are more fortunate than their predecessors because upon arriving in the U.S., they immediately found in their relatives and/or the members of their existing ethnic community the financial and emotional support needed to start a new life. They also found an existing service delivery system which has had experience in handling Indochinese refugees. Many earlier refugees now serve as educators, translators, social workers etc., or even sponsor their own people. The number of Indochinese sponsors has reportedly increased quite rapidly in recent time, and these sponsors seem to be able to provide better services and help because they themselves were refugees not long time ago. Not only can they come to grips with the resettlement problems of the newly arrived refugees better, they also understand and communicate more effectively with their own people than the American sponsor. Therefore, efforts should be made to encourage and boost this self-help trend.

The new refugees seem to be better prepared psychologically to start a new life, and enjoy some degree of psychological, social and economic security of which their predecessors were deprived.

The birth of some 500 so-called Indochinese mutual assistance associations throughout the U.S. is a clear indication of a need for a sense of belonging, and for protection and social interactions. In terms of administration, resources, and objectives, most of these organizations are better described as social groups because their members and leadership, generally speaking, are comprised of a few friends or acquaintances, and they are not very active due to a lack of resources and/or regular staff. They usually meet once or twice a year on special occasions, providing some sort of social gatherings or cultural entertainments. However, there are a few associations set up and run by Indochinese themselves which are quite active in meeting the needs of not only their own people but also of those non-Indochinese who have been, or are working, with Indochinese refugees. One of these viable organizations is the National Association for Vietnamese American Education known as NAVAE. With the present membership of more than five hundred professionals and para-professionals, this professional organization has been providing a variety of services at nominal or no cost to whoever needs them, and organized annual national conferences. It does not receive any funding, public or private. In addition to a good number of non-Indochinese, professionals and sponsors working with Indochinese refugees, NAVAE has been able to rally the support of most, if not all, of the best known scholars and professionals from Vietnam. NAVAE has to depend entirely on membership dues, donations and contributions to carry out its limited activities and services. Due to the seemingly discriminatory funding practices and patterns by federal and state agencies in favor of non-Indochinese, white establishments, the vast resources and talents of Indochinese professionals and organizations have not been tapped and/or exploited yet. According to feedback from many Indochinese refugees, some of the resettlement agencies do not seem to be genuinely interested in helping these refugees, but instead are interested in receiving funding. A a result, there has been a lot of resentment among Indochinese refugees against these agencies, and one has witnessed or seen a number of poor quality programs which have been, generally speaking, run by non-Indochinese whose services were either ineffective in meeting the needs of the refugees or left a lot to be desired. Because of their cultural, socio-political backgrounds and experiences, the Indochinese are, by and large, not ones for organizing. They are, traditionally, not familiar with, or active in, organizations and pressure groups. At this point in time, they are still unable to have their voice heard on the national, regional and local scene. They also seem unable to get organized to defend their interest in this culturally diversified and ethnic interest-oriented society. They should follow the examples set by their Asian predecessors, namely the Japanese Americans, or other ethnic minority groups such as American Jews, and Italians to influence legislation and the federal, state and local government to serve their needs and to achieve political gains. With their backgrounds and past experiences based on the support of the family instead of political organizations and/or pressure groups, it will take much more time for them to get organized than for other ethnic groups. This process will certainly be shortened if something dramatic happens to them and/or their communities, and if it is obvious to them that their interest and/or welfare are threatened or in jeopardy.

In summary, as one of the most adaptable and hard-working ethnic groups that have come to this country, and equipped with the many advantages over earlier Asian immigrants as described above, the majority of the Indochinese immigrants should be able to mainstream and become middle-class citizens within a comparatively shorter period of time than other immigrant groups, especially Asian Americans. The Indochinese Americans are law-abiding and contributing members of the American society. In addition to their talents and skills, their most important and valuable contribution of all is, perhaps, the four thousand years of cultural and linguistic heritage that they have brought with them to make this already culturally and linguistically rich country even much richer.

Selected List of Resource and Service Centers for Indochinese Population in the U.S.

With Indochinese professionals on their staff, the majority of the Centers listed below can provide Indochinese materials and/or technical assistance, and referral and training services to those who work with Indochinese in the U.S. Since these Centers are funded by public monies, their services and/or existence depend on the availability of public funds.

B.A.B.E.L., Inc.
(Bay Area Bilingual Education League, Inc.)
255 East 14th Street
Oakland, Ca. 94606
(415) 451 0511

Bilingual Education Service Center
Georgetown University
35-20 Prospect St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 625 3540

Bilingual Education Service Center
Institute of Cultural Pluralism
San Diego State University
San Diego, Ca. 92182
(714) 265 5193

Bilingual Resource Center
7703 North Lamar
Austin, Tx. 78752
(512) 458 9131

Center for Applied Linguistics
3520 Prospect Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 298 9292

Center for Southeast Asian Studies
Northern Illinois University
Dekalb, Il. 60015
(815) 753 1771

Comprehensive Educational Assistance Center
California State University
800 North State College Boulevard
Fullerton, Ca. 92634
(714) 773 3994

Cross-Cultural Resource Center
California State University
6000 J. Street
Sacremento, Ca. 95819
(916) 454 6236

Indochinese Materials Center
324 E. 11th Street
Kansas City, Mo. 64106
(816) 374 3976

Intercultural Development Research Association
5835 Callaghan Road
San Antonio, Tx. 78231
(512) 684 8180

MERIT Bilingual Center
Temple University
Ritter Annex, Rm. 995
Philadelphia, Pa. 19122
(215) 787 6258

Mid-America Center for Bilingual Materials Development (MAC)
University of Iowa
N. 310 Oakdale Campus
Oakdale, Ia. 52319
(319) 353 5400

Midwest Resource Center for Bilingual Education
500 South Dwyer Avenue
Arlington Heights, Il. 60005
(312) 870 4100

National Bilingual Resource Center
University of Southwestern Louisiana
P.O. Box 43410
Lafayette, La. 70504
(318) 264 6991

National Association for Vietnamese American Education (NAVAE)
1123 Beverly Road
Jenkintown, Pa. 19046
(215) 572-1755

National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
1300 Wilson Boulevard
Suite B2-11
Rosslyn, Va. 22209
(703) 522 0710
1-800-336 4560

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THE STATUS OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN EDUCATION

By

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There is no written history from ancient days to describe the migration of the Polynesian ancestors of the Hawaiians, but archeologists have determined by radiocarbon dating of ancient campsites that the earliest human habitation in the Hawaiian chain occured from about 500 to 750 A.D. It is believed that the first settlers may have come from the Marquesas and that Tahitians may have arrived between 900 and 1300 A.D.

The early inhabitants of Hawaii developed a distinctive Stone Age culture over a period of about a thousand years. Although they had neither written language nor metals, they established a subsistence economy with complex religious, cultural, and social practices. Theirs was a cooperative society in which natural resources were used with care and life was maintained in harmony with the environment.

Some two hundred years ago, Captain James Cook and his crew encountered the hospitable Hawaiians and permanently altered the course of civilization on these islands. An estimate of the population in 1778 was made by Captain Cook's officers which varied from 250,000-400,000.

The coming of Westerners had a fatal impact on the Hawaiians. Although foreigners made many contributions to the society, such as a written language, Western education, metal, and manufactured goods, they also introduced previously unknown diseases, firearms, and alcohol. The Western culture also produced complex changes in religion, land use, the economy, and health practices that permanently altered the Hawaiian

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culture. These and other factors led to the rapid depopulation of the Hawaiian race.[1]

In 1900, the first United States Census was taken in the Hawaiian Islands showing a count of 29,799 full Hawaiians and 7,857 Part-Hawaiians. Subsequent U. S. decennial Censuses have shown the pure Hawaiians declining as a result of low fertility, high mortality, out-migration and intermarriage, while the number of Part-Hawaiians increased, as shown by the following percentages of Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians in the total population from 1900 to 1960:[2]

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Hawaiians	19.3%	13.6%	9.3%	6.1%	3.4%	2.5%	2.8%
Part-Hawaiians	5.1	6.5	7.0	7.7	11.8	14.8	14.4

In the 1970 U. S. decennial Census, the Part-Hawaiian category was deleted, resulting in a count of 71,375 in the Hawaiian category, or 9.3 percent of Hawaii's total population. This change in categorization resulted in data that were lacking in comparability with both earlier U. S. Census tabulations and the data series developed by the State of Hawaii. Therefore, it is difficult to determine ethnic population trends or to calculate valid rates for socioeconomic indicators by Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian ethnicity using 1970 Census data. Subsequent U. S. Census Bureau surveys to update the 1970 data followed the 1970 Census definition and procedures for ethnicity. And the 1980 U. S. Census has not reinstated the Part-Hawaiian category. Thus, the inability to use Census results in calculating various socioeconomic rates persists.

In view of the dificulties in using Census data for Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, this paper will use two State of Hawaii data sources: the Office of Economic Opportunity's Census Update Survey of 1975 (which is the most recent comprehensive survey available on Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians), and the 1979 State Health Surveillance Survey data for update where available. Educational and socioeconomic data used are for the most recent year for which valid statistics are available.*

II. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERSTICS

In 1979, there were 175,000 Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians (hereafter referred to as Native Hawaiians**) in the total resident population of 880,000 in the state of Hawaii. The geographic distribution by island was as follows:

	Hawaii	Kauai	Maui	Molokai	Lanai	Oahu
Total population	9.4%	4.0%	6.3%	0.8%	0.3%	79.2%
Native Hawaiians	15.7	4.1	7.2	2.3	0.3	70.4

More than 52% of this Native Hawaiian population are 19 years of age or younger, whereas the state total population shows 35% aged 19 and under. Thus the age structure for the Native Hawaiian population resembles that of developing countries where the percentage for children are larger than for adults. On the other hand, the age structure for the State population is that of developed countries, with a much smaller percentage of children. The socioeconomic characteristics of Native Hawaiians also reflect that of developing countries with a larger proportion of children in the population who are dependent on the smaller proportion of income-producing adults. For example, the following comparisons give an indication of the socioeconomic status of Native Hawaiians in 1975:

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*Service agencies usually do not categorize their data by Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians. Where such data are available, the definitions used by various agencies may differ.

**Definition according to Public Law 93-644, Section 813: Native Hawaiian means any individual any of whose ancestors were natives of the area which consists of the Hawaiian islands prior to 1778.

	Native Hawaiian	State
% of population poor	23.9%	11.3%
% eligible for welfare	22.0%	15.0%
% in professional/technical managerial occupations	19.0%	27.3%
Unemployment rate (adults)	6.0%	3.9%

With a proportionately larger Native Hawaiian children and youth population, the proportion of Native Hawaiian students in the public school system is similarly larger.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN STUDENTS

Of the 162,000 public school students in the state, 34,000 (21%) are Native Hawaiian. There are 224 public schools in the State, 34 (15%) have enrollments of 40% or more Native Hawaiian. However, of the 8,000 public school teachers, only 6% are Native Hawaiian. Although about 22% of the youth in the state aged 18 to 21 are Native Hawaiian, of the community college students in the state, only 6% are Native Hawaiian. And only 4% of those studying at four-year colleges statewide are Native Hawaiian.

It is true that the number of public school students in the state has declined in the past few years. But the number of Native Hawaiian students has remained about the same since 1978, due mainly to the fact that the total fertility rate for Native Hawaiians has been much higher than for the total State population (6122 versus 2729 per 1000 women in 1970).[3] In fact, proportionately, Native Hawaiian students have increased from 20% of the state student enrollment in 1977 to 21% in 1980. On the other hand, Native Hawaiian teachers have remained at about 6% of the total number of public school teachers. Since Native Hawaiian students make up more than one-fifth of the student enrollment, there should be an effort to increase the proportion of Native Hawaiian teachers or at least, train existing teachers in understanding how to teach Native Hawaiian children, and how to teach in programs geared to bicultural/multicultural students who need special education.

IV. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN STUDENTS

In order to see which are the best special programs to meet the needs of Native Hawaiian students, their educational status should be presented. Available data indicate basic problems such as low achievement test scores, high absenteeism, high dropout rate and general disciplinary problems.

Annually, the State Department of Education administers the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) to fourth and eighth graders statewide. Results of the SAT for fourth graders show that 34% of the Native Hawaiian students fall in Stanines 1, 2 and 3 (below average) in reading compared to 24% for all ethnic groups combined. For the eighth graders, the percentages are 44% versus 23%.

Of the approximately 5,000 students in the 34 schools which have enrollments of 40% or more Native Hawaiian, 33% of these students are absent 20 or more days in the school year compared to 20% for all students. Some 25% of these students are absent 70 days or more out of a 173-day school year. These students essentially can be considered dropouts.[5]

In 1979, of the 16,566 Native Hawaiian students enrolled in the State's intermediate and high schools, 8% (1,250) were suspended one or more times during the year compared to half that percentage for all other ethnic groups combined.[6]

In view of these indicators, what is being offered in the way of alternative special education programs to meet the needs of these students?

Major State Compensatory Education Programs to Meet the Needs of the Educationally Disadvantaged

Title I Programs. These are federally-funded programs under the provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). Its goal is to assist disadvantaged students in overcoming their special educational, social, economic, and related difficulties which impede normal academic and personal progress in school. The objectives of Title I in the Hawaii public school system are to provide supplemental help in reading, mathematics and, in some cases, preschool enrichment and readiness, and to place a strong emphasis on parental involvement.

Title I program results are measured in Normal Curve Equivalents (NCE). A zero NCE means that the amount of learning was exactly what would have been expected had there been no Title I Program. When an NCE gain is greater than zero, it means that the students profited from participating in the Title I program. In the period from 1977-80, the programs at the majority of the 50 schools which have 30% or more Hawaiians in their enrollment show successful impact. Except for seven schools, the others show NCE gains from 3.9 to 15.1. Thus, the Title I scores do indicate progress in the basic skills for students in these schools.

Comprehensive Mathematics Project. The complete name of this Project is "The Improvement of School Programs in Mathematics through a Comprehensive Foundation Program Assessment and Improvement System (FPAIS) Approach Project." The objective of this program is the reduction of mathematics program deficiencies as identified through state-level assessments, including problem-solving, applications in everyday situations, alertness to logical results, estimation and approximation, geometry, measurement, predictions, and interpreting and constructing tables, charts, and graphs. While the whole impact of the Program is too new (since 1978) to have been fully evaluated, the Stanford Achievement Test scores on math for 1979 and 1980 are the best ever for those grades participating in this program.

Federal Right to Read Program. The objective of this program since 1975 is to develop and utilize a statewide network of specially trained district teams to assist classroom teachers in reading improvement efforts. Emphasis is placed on overall reading comprehension skills rather than reading mechanisms. It also uses the Anne Adams Approach which teaches reading and writing skills utilizing materials which are available to students such as nonfiction books, newspapers, catalogues, and vocabulary from television shows. An integrated approach is emphasized which combines oral language, reading and writing skills where group work and the peer learning approach is utilized. Evaluations of this program at 35 schools indicate that they have had a significant and educationally meaningful impact on the reading performance of the students. Most teachers and parents who are involved in this program are very pleased with the results.

Effect of State Compensatory Programs on Native Hawaiian Students

Despite the relatively positive evaluation of these programs, it is doubtful if they alone can resolve the special needs of Native Hawaiian students. One difficulty is that, under the criteria of these programs, many Native Hawaiian students who do not qualify as low-income, neglected, or handicapped, and yet do have major educational difficulties, are not serviced. Those students not enrolled in any type of compensatory education program and doing poorly in school are an unserviced gap group.[8] Another difficulty is that these programs reflect a high degree of remedial instruction utilizing traditional teaching approaches. Cultural differences, attitudes, and expectations between the school's tradition and the Hawaiian culture are not addressed.[9] A less apparent difficulty is that some teachers may have low expectations of Native Hawaiian students, and may not guide them sufficiently to remedy their academic weaknesses in order to pursue higher education and professions.

In view of these difficulties, private Hawaiian agencies/institutions have implemented innovative experimental programs incorporating Hawaiian culture, values and concepts, and reconciling them into the educational process.

V. INNOVATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAMS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN STUDENTS

Of the innovative experimental education programs for Native Hawaiians in the state, two have been evaluated as most successful. The first and most well-known is the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), a program of the Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estates. The goal of KEEP is the development, demonstration, and dissemination of methods for improving the education of Native Hawaiian children. KEEP is the result of an interdisciplinary approach with the input from anthropologists, linguists, clinical and experimental psychologists, educators and others. Its activities involve not only the traditional educational process, but also bi-cultural teacher training, curriculum development, child motivation, language and cognitive development. Its success has been demonstrated through cohort analysis by a time experiment comparing KEEP students with similar control groups. For each grade level, the experimental group exceeds its controls in all basic skills with statistically significant difference.

The Pahoa School Program of the Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center include various educational and cultural components to help the Native Hawaiian children. The objective is to involve the parents and the community in modifying traditional education methods with Hawaiian history, culture, and recreation. Evaluation of this Program using the Stanford Achievement Test shows that students in the program score higher than both the state and the national averages.

There have been other small short-term demonstration programs to enrich the education of Native Hawaiian students which have proven successful from test results. One is Program Ho'aloha; its objective was to have students become aware and be proud of their Hawaiian cultural heritage, to appreciate other ethnic groups and their contributions to Hawaii and to receive remedial instruction in the basic skills. Other similar successful programs were the ALU LIKE Halau O Haleiwa Program, the Early Prevention of School Failure Program, the Hui Laulima Program, and other childhood enrichment programs.

It seems that those programs that have been most successful are programs for preschool and elementary school age children. Researchers believe that young children who are turned off early in elementary school and are chronically absent are likely as adolescents to develop anti-social behavior. In summary, evaluation studies indicate that, to raise the skill levels of Native Hawaiian students, the following elements must be present in the special programs to be successfully implemented:

1. Reaching out to students early to instill in them an appreciation of their bi/multi-culturalism.
2. Making the students feel comfortable about themselves, raising their self-esteem as well as their cognitive skills.
3. Making any task practical, to learn by doing, while tying in basic skills.
4. Involving the parents or other support systems that will provide reinforcement and encouragement in the home environment. This is regarded to be especially important for Native Hawaiian children who appear to need more continued motivation.[10]
5. Involving Native Hawaiian professionals and leaders in the community who can become role models for Native Hawaiian children to encourage them to pursue higher education and professions.

In view of the favorable outcome of these present and past special demonstration programs for Native Hawaiian children, it seems such programs should be implemented in the state public school system. Unfortunately there is the problem of funding. Demonstration programs operating on special funds often are not picked up by the public school system as part of its regular program because to do so would require replication of the programs throughout the state to ensure equal opportunity for all students. Because this would be much more expensive than the present education system can absorb, alternative means need to be sought to ensure that special programs which focus on Native Hawaiian student needs will continue.

VI. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE EDUCATION OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN

A major alternative means is the proposed Native Hawaiian Education Act to seek federal funds for special programs for Native Hawaiians commensurate with their status as Native Americans. The federal government has traditionally maintained a special relationship with Native Hawaiians and has dealt with them in a manner similar to that of other Native Americans. In 1920, the Solicitor of the U. S. Department of the Interior and the Attorney General for the then Territory of Hawaii rendered similar opinions that Congress had the power to enact legislation for Native Hawaiians as it had for the benefit of American Indians and Alaskans. In the Admissions Act of 1959, Congress reiterated its trust responsibility to Native Hawaiians in mandating the State of Hawaii to recognize the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. In 1974, Congress once again reaffirmed its special relationship and amended legislation to include Native Hawaiians as eligible for national programs administered by the Administration for Native Americans, Office of Human Development Services, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services). The process was repeated in 1977 when Congress amended the Employment and Training Act to include Native Hawaiians in the Native American Manpower Program administered by the U. S. Department of Labor through the Division of Indian and Native American Programs (now the Office of Indian and Native American Programs).

In view of the precedents established by these Congressional actions and the availability of comparable services to other indigenous Native Americans, the enactment of educational programs designed to meet the unique needs of Native Hawaiians through the national legislative process is justified.

The Native Hawaiian Education Bill (S. 916) was introduced in 1979 by Senators Daniel K. Inouye and Spark M. Matsunaga of Hawaii to the First Session of the 96th Congress. In brief, this Bill summarized the educational needs of Native Hawaiians and proposed the following:[12]

1. Planning for and taking steps leading to the development of programs specifically designed to meet the special educational, culturally-related academic needs, or both, of Native Hawaiian children, including pilot projects designed to test the effectiveness of plans so developed.
2. The establishment, maintenance, and operation of programs including remodeling of classrooms or other space used for the programs and acquisitions of necessary equipment, specially designed to meet the special education and culturally related academic needs, or both, of Native Hawaiian children.

3. A program or project may include the participation of non-Native Hawaiian children where that participation does not frustate or inhibit the achievement of the purpose of the program.
4. A program should be planned in open consultation with parents of Native Hawaiian children enrolled in the affected schools, teachers of those children and, where applicable, Native Hawaiian secondary school students, including public hearings at which such persons have had a full opportunity to understand the program and to offer recommendations thereon. Also, it should have the participation and approval of a committee composed of, and selected by, the above groups.
5. To support demonstration projects which are designed to test and demonstrate the effectiveness of programs for improving educational opportunities for Native Hawaiian children.
6. To assist in the establishment and operation of programs which are designed to stimulate the provision of educational services not available to Native Hawaiian children in sufficient quantity or quality, and the development and establishment of exemplary educational programs to serve as models for regular school programs in which Native Hawaiian children are educated.
7. To encourage the dissemination of information and materials relating to, and the evaluation of the effectiveness of, education programs which may offer educational opportunities to Native Hawaiian children, including:
    a. innovative programs related to the education needs of educationally deprived children.

b. bilingual and bicultural education programs and projects.

c. special health and nutrition services, and other related activities, which meet the special health, social and psychological problems of Native Hawaiian children.

d. coordinating the operation of other federally-assisted programs which may be used to assist in meeting the needs of such children.

e. remedial and compensatory instruction, school health, physical education, psychological and other services designed to assist and encourage Native Hawaiian children to enter, remain in, or reenter elementary or secondary school.

f. comprehensive academic and vocational instruction.

g. comprehensive guidance, counseling, and testing services.

h. special education programs for handicapped and gifted and talented Native Hawaiian children.

i. early childhood programs.

j. exemplary and innovative educational programs and centers, involving new educational approaches, methods, and techniques designed to enrich programs of elementary and secondary education.

XII. SPECIAL EDUCATION TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR TEACHERS OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN CHILDREN

1. To fund training for the purpose of preparing individuals for teaching or administering special programs and projects designed to meet the special educational needs of Native Hawaiian children and to provide in-service training for persons teaching in such programs including fellowships and traineeships.
2. To award fellowships to Native Hawaiian students to enable them to pursue a course of study for four academic years leading toward a professional or graduate degree in medicine, law, education, and related fields or leading to an undergraduate or graduate degree in engineering, business administration, natural resources, and related fields.

XIII. IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADULT NATIVE HAWAIIANS

1. To support demonstration projects which are designed to test and demonstrate the effectiveness of programs for improving employment and educational opportunities for adult Native Hawaiians.
2. To assist in the establishment and operation of programs which are designed to stimulate the provision of basic literacy opportunities to all non-literate Native Hawaiian adults and the provision of opportunities to all Native Hawaiian adults to qualify for a high school equivalency certificate in the shortest period of time feasible.

3. To support a major research and development program to develop more innovative and effective techniques for achieving the literacy and high school equivalency goals.
4. To provide for basic surveys and evaluations thereof to define accurately the extent of the problems of illiteracy and of high school completion among Native Hawaiians.
5. To encourage the dissemination of information and materials relating to, and the evaluation of, the effectiveness of educational programs which may offer opportunities to Native Hawaiian adults.
6. To establish an Advisory Council on Native Hawaiian Education to oversee the administration of the provisions in this Bill.

Unfortunately, positive response to these programs to alleviate the educational problems as outlined in the provisions of this proposed Act have been inadequate. There is indifference due to the lack of understanding of the Native Hawaiian people, lack of knowledge of the socioeconomic and educational status of the Native Hawaiians, and lack of data explaining why existing federal special education programs are not meeting the needs of Native Hawaiians.

Fortunately, the 1980 Congress did pass legislation in September 1980 to set up an Advisory Council on Native Hawaiian Education with a two-year appropriation of $500,000. This Council is authorized by Section 1331 of the Education Amendments of 1980 (P.L. 96-374, 10 U.S.C. 1221-1). This Section states that (1) like other Native Americans, Native Hawaiians rank among the lowest in level of educational attainment and per capita income and (2) existing federal, state, and local assistance in the field of education fails to address the basic and special needs of Native Hawaiians. The Congress declares its commitment to assist in providing the educational services and opportunities which Native Hawaiians need.

The Council advises the U. S. Secretary of Education, the Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, and other appropriate officials on the operation of programs administered by the Department, and other programs making educational assistance available to Native Hawaiians. It will submit a report to the Secretary and to the Congress not later than January 31, 1983, containing its findings and recommendations.

IX. ADVISORY COUNCIL ON NATIVE HAWAIIAN EDUCATION

The seven members of this Council have been appointed by the U. S. Secretary of Education after consultation with the Governor of Hawaii.[13] Its mission, goals, and objectives are as follows:

Mission

Since existing federal, state, and local assistance fails to address satisfactorily the educational needs of Native Hawaiians, the mission of this Advisory Council is to consider reasons why this condition exists and to recommend to the Secretary of Education, and the Congress, legislative and administrative remedies. Said remedies could have expanded benefits as they may prove to be applicable to other Native Americans and other Polynesians in assisting them to attain educational parity with groups represented in the social mainstream.

Goals

1. Validate that Native Hawaiians do not achieve at parity in education.
    a. Present achievement test score data.
    b. Present socioeconomic indicator data.
    c. Identify the number of at-risk individuals along the age continuum.
    d. Describe the residual effects of the problem and the relationship to future generations of Native Hawaiians.
    e. Locate the at-risk population and identify impacted communities.
2. Delineate the special health, social and psychological needs of Native Hawaiian children that appear to underlie this condition.
    a. Present evidence that Native Hawaiians experienced bodily and psychological trauma that undermined their physical and emotional health.
    b. Present evidence that there is a causal relationship between physical and emotional health and low educational achievement.
3. Inventory and evaluate existing federal, state and local assistance that intends to remedy the condition.
    a. Identify federal, state and local programs that are designed to remedy the problem.
    b. Define criteria for measuring cost-effective, successful program.

c. Evaluate federal, state and local programs that are designed to remedy the problem.

d. List areas of educational need that are not being met by existing programs.

4. Highlight educational approaches that seem to be most effective in remedying the conditions.

   a. Identify existing programs that are successful remedies.

   b. Identify existing remedies with potential for replication or expansion.

   c. Identify areas of continuing need for program development.

5. Recommend to the Secretary of Education and the Congress appropriate legislative and administrative remedies.

   a. Submit recommendations to the Congress.

   b. Submit recommendations to the Secretary of Education.

   c. Submit recommendations to interested Native American and Polynesian groups.

X. BENEFITS TO SOCIETY FROM EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT

The objectives of this Council do not address the connection between education attainment and employment for Native Hawaiians. As shown above, compared to the total population of Hawaii, Native Hawaiians are a disadvantaged people who need special educational assistance. However, even if law-makers might be convinced of this fact, they would probably pose the question: "Will there be a sufficient return on the dollar investment that may produce benefits to society beyond those immediately apparent to the recipients of funds, thereby making this appropriation a particularly good use of public funds?" A study analyzing the costs and benefits of educational achievement as it relates to employment income presents these findings:[14]

For each additional year of schooling completed, an individual Native Hawaiian's average income rose by over $700 per year in 1975. Does this gain in income represent an adequate rate of return to society to justify the expenditures to provide that education? By inducing a potential high school dropout to finish high school, society reaps dividends (over additional educational costs) in the amount of 16 percent for Part-Hawaiians and 30 percent for Hawaiians after accounting for inflation. These returns more than meet the market test of adequate returns, which are in the range of 5 to 10 percent. Furthermore, in computing this rate of return to society, not included in the calculations are the cost savings due to lower welfare dependency rates and lower criminal offender rates associated with higher educational achievement. Calculated returns compare only the additional incomes due to more education against the additional costs incurred by society to provide that education to Native Hawaiians. Thus, compared to alternative uses of society's capital, the returns to society from educational investment for Native Hawaiians are more than sufficient.

The case for the needs of the Native Hawaiians for special education has been documented. Fortunately, the six Hawaiian agencies and institutions* entrusted to serve Native Hawaiians have formed the Hawaiian Service Institutions and Agencies (HSIA) to voice their concern to local, state, and national officials and to share ideas on how best to narrow this disparity in educational achievement and socioeconomic status. With continued joint effort, the realization of this goal will surely come to pass.

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*In alphabetical order, these agencies/institutions are ALU LIKE, Inc., Bishop Museum, Lunalilo Home, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center, and the Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estates.

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